Vol. III 1959

NOTTINGHAM MEDIAEVAL STUDIES

Edited by

LEWIS THORPE

SHL
WITHDRAWN

PRINTED FOR THE UNIVERSITY OF NOTTINGHAM
BY
W. HEFFER & SONS LTD., CAMBRIDGE

CONTENTS

PAGE

EDITORIAL 1

ORIGINS AND PEREGRINATIONS OF THE LAVAL–MIDDLETON MANUSCRIPT
Frederick A. G. Cowper 3

THE SPICERS AND APOTHECARIES OF THE ROYAL HOUSEHOLD IN THE REIGNS OF HENRY III, EDWARD I AND EDWARD II *G. E. Trease* 19

THE PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION OF LINCOLNSHIRE DURING THE REIGNS OF RICHARD II, HENRY IV AND HENRY V
J. S. Roskell 53

THE LIFE AND LEGEND OF LOUISE LABÉ *Kenneth Varty* 78

NOTTINGHAM MEDIAEVAL STUDIES is published annually on 1 September.

Contributions to the journal are normally made by members of the academic staff, post-graduate research workers and graduates of the University of Nottingham, but an occasional article is accepted from outside the University.

All correspondence concerning the journal should be addressed to the Editor, Nottingham Mediaeval Studies, The University, Nottingham, England. Postal orders and cheques should be crossed and made payable to "Nottingham Mediaeval Studies."

NOTTINGHAM MEDIAEVAL STUDIES

Volume III 1959

EDITORIAL

Nottingham Mediaeval Studies is now in its third year. It has been well if somewhat tardily reviewed in England, Europe and America. *The Times Literary Supplement* devoted its leader to the new journal on 5 December 1958, and *The Times* gave it a third leader on 8 November 1958. In addition to the copies bought by private individuals, Volumes I and II have found their way into many of the University cities of Canada and the United States of America, into the London Library, the Public Record Office and the New York Public Library, into the Statsbibliotek of Aarhus and the Kongelige Bibliotek of Copenhagen. They have penetrated the University Libraries of Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Italy and Sweden; and copies have been sold in The Hague, Helsinki, Louvain, Munich, Lille, Florence, Pittsburgh, Moscow, Oxford and Kalamazoo.

The present volume follows the policy which I established in my first editorial in 1957. Three of the articles published are the work of members of the teaching staff of the University or of its graduates. The remaining one is contributed by a good friend of Nottingham who has often been a guest in our Senior Common Room and who writes on one of the manuscripts in our muniments room.

Frederick A. G. Cowper is known to scholars throughout Europe and the United States of America as the most recent editor of *Ille et Galeron*, the roman d'aventure composed between 1167 and 1170 by Gautier d'Arras, a nobleman of the court of Count Philip of Flanders. For the edition of the romance which he published in the *Bibliothèque française du moyen âge*, Paris, 1890, E. Löseth had used only MS. *Bibliothèque Nationale* f. fr. 375, thought then to be unique; and the 1891 edition which Wendelin Foerster published in Halle in the *Romanische Bibliothek* was based upon a long-hand transcription of that manuscript made for him by a colleague. It was in 1911 that W. H. Stevenson revealed to the world the existence of what is now known as MS. Mi.LM.6 of the University of Nottingham, and from soon after that date until 1956 Professor Cowper worked on a collated edition of the romance. Professor Cowper, who took his degrees at Trinity College, Connecticut and at the University of Chicago, and who spent periods of post-graduate study in Strasbourg and Geneva, retired in 1952 from Duke University, Durham,

North Carolina, where he had held a Chair of Romance Languages since 1920. He has travelled widely and frequently in Europe and has visited the University of Nottingham on a number of occasions, most recently in June 1956. Part of his article on the Laval–Middleton manuscript was read as a paper to the Fifth International Arthurian Congress in Bangor on 17 August 1957.

Professor G. E. Trease, who has held the Chair of Pharmacy in the University since 1957 and who is the author of *A Textbook of Pharmacognosy* first published in 1934 and now in its seventh edition, is a leading authority on the early history of his subject. His article on the spicers and apothecaries of the English court in the thirteenth century is the result of many years' research at the Public Record Office and elsewhere. J. S. Roskell has been Professor of Mediaeval History in the University since 1952. His main interest is in the history of the mediaeval English Parliament. The study of parliamentary representation in Lincolnshire during the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries which I print in this present number was given by him as a paper at the Annual General Meeting of the Lincolnshire Record Society held at Lincoln in September 1957. His article on Sir Peter de la Mare, Speaker in 1376 and 1377, appeared in the second volume of *Nottingham Mediaeval Studies*.

Dr. E. K. C. Varty came up to the University in 1948. He took his first degree here in 1951 and his doctorate under my supervision in 1954. He is now lecturer in French language and literature at the University College of North Staffordshire. The biographical study of Louise Labé which I print here and which he has adapted from the opening chapters of his doctorate thesis is an attempt to substitute a woman of flesh and blood for the fanciful and somewhat meretricious figure conjured up by earlier critics.

LEWIS THORPE

ORIGINS AND PEREGRINATIONS OF THE LAVAL-MIDDLETON MANUSCRIPT

In 1911 the publication of a report of the British Historical Manuscripts Commission[1] made known the existence of a fine Old French manuscript, apparently forgotten for several hundred years in Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire, then the seat of Lord Middleton.

Notes in the *Bibliothèque de l'Ecole des Chartes*,[2] *Romania*,[3] the *Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie*,[4] and A. Längfors, *Les Incipit, etc.*[5] mentioned this report, but the attention of American scholars at least was more generally attracted by the publication of an article by Professor E. S. Sheldon of Harvard University "On the Date of *Ille et Galeron*" by Gautier d'Arras,[6] one of the eighteen works found in the manuscript.[7]

Since then editions of four works represented in the manuscript have been published and a fifth, the hitherto unknown *Silence*, is about to be printed by Professor Lewis Thorpe of Nottingham University.

Louis Brandin, in his edition of *La Chanson d'Aspremont*,[8] says: "Rien ne permet d'indiquer la date d'acquisition du manuscrit par la famille de Lord Middleton. Il doit se trouver dans cette famille depuis des siècles; et c'est

[1] W. H. Stevenson, *Report of the Manuscripts of Lord Middleton preserved at Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire*, London, 1911 (Historical Manuscripts Commission), pp. 221–35. Because of its location at the time it was found, this manuscript was long known as the Wollaton Manuscript. Professor E. C. Armstrong called it the Middleton Manuscript in his edition of the *Roman d'Alexandre*, since it was then at Malton, where the then Lord Middleton had taken it after Wollaton Hall was sold to the Corporation of Nottingham. It has been lodged by the present Lord Middleton in the Muniments Room of the University of Nottingham, where it bears the reference Mi. LM. 6. Since there are many Middleton manuscripts in the University Library, it seems appropriate to distinguish it with the title *Laval-Middleton Manuscript*, and we hope that this will meet with the approval of the scholarly world.

[2] H. Omont, *Manuscrits de Lord Middleton conservés à Wollaton Hall, Nottinghamshire*, in Vol. LXXIII, 1912, pp. 200–6, where he mentions *Ille et Galeron*.

[3] Vol. XLII, 1913, pp. 144–6.

[4] Vol. XXXIX, 1919, p. 584.

[5] *Les Incipit des poèmes français antérieurs au XVIe siècle*, Paris, 1917, p. 7.

[6] *Modern Philology*, XVII (1919), pp. 383–92.

[7] Contents of the Laval–Middleton manuscript: I, *Roman de Troie*; II, *Ille et Galeron*; III, *Silence*, Arthurian poem of 6706 octosyllabic verses based on Geoffrey of Monmouth by Master Heldris de Cornuälle; IV, *Gest Aalixandre* (more correctly *Roman du fuerre de Gadres* from the *Gest Alexandre*; V, *Gest d'Yaumont et d'Agolant* in rhymed decasyllables = *Aspremont*; VI, *Del Roi Artut* in rhymed octosyllables = *La Vengeance Raguidel*, see Lewis Thorpe, "Notes sur le texte de 'La Vengeance Raguidel,'" *Romania*, LXXII, 3 (1951) and LXXIII, 1 (1952); VII–XV, Fabliaux; XVI, *Li Dis Raoul de Hosdaing*, a poem of 127 lines, publ. by Lewis Thorpe, "Raoul de Houdenc: a possible new poem," *Modern Language Review*, XLVII, 4 (1952); XVII, Fabliau; XVIII, the first 15 lines of *De le cugnie*, the fable of Marie de France, publ. by Lewis Thorpe, "Les Fables de Marie de France: un nouveau fragment de manuscrit," *Scriptorium*, IV, 1 (1950).

[8] *La Chanson d'Aspremont, chanson de geste du XIIe siècle*, Paris, 1920, secon edition, 1923–5, CFMA 23, 25.

probablement Sir Henry Willoughby, membre de la cour de Henry VIII (voir *Report on the Manuscripts of Lord Middleton*, etc., p. v et vi), et collectionneur de livres, qui en a fait l'acquisition. La mention "Cest livre est Madame de la Val" (fo 249 vo) montre, à en juger par l'écriture, que le manuscrit était encore en France au début du XVe siècle [Note 1. Il s'agit probablement d'un membre de la famille des seigneurs de Laval (voir Léopold Delisle, *Cabinet des Manuscrits*, t. II, p. 375–6] et la mention de "John Bertrem, de Thorp Kilton" également du XVe siècle, [Note 2. Cf. W. H. Stevenson, *op. cit.*, p. 221], signature du propriétaire de ce manuscrit, montre qu'il est arrivé en Angleterre à cette époque."[9] Farther on (p. 187) he says that one of the two scribes who made the manuscript was of the Picard–Walloon dialect, the other of Picardy bordering on Normandy. From the writing and the miniatures he considers that the manuscript is of the third quarter of the thirteenth century.

Professor Charles H. Livingston says substantially the same thing about the ownership of the manuscript in his edition of the fabliaux of *le jongleur* Gautier Le Leu,[10] which are found at the end of the manuscript (ff. 336*r*–345*v*). Livingston says further: "Mais le scribe qui a copié les fabliaux est certainement autre que ceux qui ont exécuté le reste du manuscrit. De plus le vélin sur lequel les fabliaux sont écrits est de qualité différente et inférieure et ces feuillets pourraient fort bien avoir été ajoutés au manuscrit principal. M. Charles Samaran a bien voulu étudier avec nous la paléographie de cette portion du manuscrit. Il est difficile de la dater à cause de l'absence de miniatures et de majuscules; au début de chaque poème le copiste a laissé un espace pour une lettre ornée qui n'a jamais été exécutée et même au début de chaque vers les majuscules manquent. . . . Dans l'ensemble M. Samaran placerait le texte dans le dernier quart du XIIIe siècle et certainement pas après la première décade du XIVe siècle. Cela coïncide à peu près avec l'opinion de Charles-V. Langlois[1] (1. *La Vie en France au moyen âge d'après des moralistes du temps*, Paris, 1925, p. 376) qui, lui aussi, a examiné les photographies du manuscrit et en a conclu: "Il est français de la fin du XIIIe siècle ou des premières années du XIVe."[11]

Professor E. C. Armstrong and his collaborators discussed the text of the *Fuerre de Gadres* found in our manuscript (which they call "the manuscript") in their edition of the *Roman d'Alexandre*,[12] but the part of their study so far published offers no aid in the problems presented in this study.

[9] Brandin, II, p. 184.

[10] Charles H. Livingston, *Le Jongleur Gautier Le Leu. Étude sur les Fabliaux*, Cambridge, Mass., 1951 (Harvard Studies in Romance Languages, No. XXIV), p. 14.

[11] *Ibid.*, pp. 13–14.

[12] *The Medieval French Roman d'Alexandre*, Vol. I, Text of the Arsenal and Venice Versions, 1937; Vol. II, Version of Alexandre de Paris, Text, 1937; Vol. III, Version of Alexandre de Paris, Variants and Notes to Branch I, 1949; Vol. IV, Le Roman du Fuerre de Gadres d'Eustache, 1942 (see p. 29); Vol. V, Version of Alexandre de Paris, Variants and Notes to Branch II, 1942 (see pp. 109, 125, 138, 139), Elliott Monographs 36–40, Princeton University Press.

My own interest in Professor Sheldon's article is easily understandable, since when it appeared I was working on a study of the *Ille de Galeron* based on the text of the Paris manuscript, *Bibl. Nat.* f. fr. 375, the only one then known. Through the kindness of the late Lord Middleton and Mr. Stevenson I secured a photostat copy of the Wollaton text and have since made this my major interest, working from photostats of both manuscripts and comparing them with the original texts themselves. Although I have published an article about it[13] and finally an edition of the text with introduction, variants and selective glossary,[14] I am fully aware that there remain many unsolved problems concerning Gautier and his two known works. One of these concerns the origin of the Wollaton manuscript and its subsequent peregrinations. The notices of Delisle, Brandin and Livingston excited my further curiosity about the Laval and the Bertrem families and the result of my research and exploration in these areas forms the subject of this study.

I decided to begin my investigation in the town of Laval itself and then proceed to Yorkshire, where Thorpe Kilton is located. My study of the Laval family led back in a curious way to Gautier d'Arras and to the part of Flanders known as Imperial Flanders, more particularly to the region around Ghent, Gavre, Chièvres, Mons and Alost, and it fits rather well into the findings of Professor Livingston on the locale of Gautier Le Leu.[15]

The family which ruled Laval was one of the most powerful in France, both by its own merits and by its marriages into other noble families. I will give only sufficient details of its history to show the background for my study.[16] Emma, sister of Guyonnet de Laval, was married to Robert III d'Alençon, who died in 1217, leaving her *enceinte* of a son who, had he lived beyond infancy, would have become Robert IV d'Alençon and Lord of Laval.[17] She then married within the year Mathieu II de Montmorency, hero of the great battle of Bouvines fought on the Franco-Belgian frontier between Lille and Tournai

[13] "The new manuscript of *Ille et Galeron*," *Modern Philology*, XVIII (1920–1), pp. 601–8.

[14] *Ille et Galeron* par Gautier d'Arras, publié par Frederick A. G. Cowper, Editions A. & J. Picard & Cie, Paris, 1956 (*S.A.T.F.*).

[15] *Op. cit.* p. 82. "Cette longue étude aboutit donc à des résultats assez précis qui tous semblent se corroborer. Les témoignages géographiques (partie I) montrent que notre auteur connaissait bien la région de Valenciennes et la ville elle-même, capitale du Hainaut et centre d'activité; et si les allusions à la région du Hainaut qui fait maintenant partie de la Belgique sont moins nombreuses, elles n'en sont pas moins précises, comme le sont aussi les allusions à des lieux de l'ancienne province de Liège. . . . Quant aux particularités dialectales du mètre et de la rime (partie III), elles décèlent bien un auteur du nord-est de la France médiévale; quelques détails pourtant nous portent à croire que Gautier appartenait à une région de Picardie voisine du pays de langue wallonne et était un Picard wallonisant. Enfin plusieurs points de syntaxe (partie III) et le riche vocabulaire régional (partie IV) viennent s'ajouter à ces autres témoignages pour nous permettre de conclure que Gautier Le Leu était un Hennuyer, originaire d'une région de l'ancien comté de Hainaut qui forme maintenant partie de la Belgique."

[16] Since the original documents dealing with its history were burned in 1794 during the Revolution, we must depend on Cartularies and secondary evidence for our information. I have leaned heavily on the excellent work of Count Bertrand de Broussillon, *La Maison de Laval*, 1020–1605, Paris, 1895–1900, 5 volumes.

[17] *La Maison de Laval*, I, p. 185.

on 27 July 1214.[18] Mathieu was made Connétable in July 1218. He died in 1230.[19] Emma had given him a son who on her death in 1264 became Guy VII, seigneur de Laval.[20]

The most notable event in the reign of Guy VIII, his successor,[21] apart from his presence on the Crusade in the suite of St. Louis,[22] seems to have been his decision to marry his heir to Béatrix de Gavre.

On this decision Bertrand de Broussillon says:

> "On ignore les motifs qui décidèrent Guy VIII à marier son héritier dans une famile aussi éloignée du Maine; mais, quels qu'ils aient été, cette alliance se fit au grand profit de la maison de Laval, devenue ainsi maîtresse de fiefs importants, lesquels, pendant plus de deux siècles, firent partie intégrante de son patrimoine. Elle fut surtout profitable aux villes de Laval et de Vitré si, comme on le croit généralement, Béatrix y fit venir de son pays d'habiles ouvriers, qui y introduisirent l'art de tisser la toile et y établirent cette lucrative industrie. Les deux villes lui durent ainsi près de cinq siècles d'une prospérité qui s'est démentie alors seulement que, par suite de la suppression de la surveillance dont la fabrication avait été jusque-là l'objet, il fut loisible à chacun de tisser des produits plus ou moins défectueux, et tels que le consommateur cessa de trouver dans les toiles du pays la qualité dont jusque-là la marque locale était la garantie."[23]

It seems to me that there is implicit in the above quotation sufficient reason why Guy VIII should plan this match, and the results attest to his acumen. That the citizens of Laval appreciated the services of Béatrix is shown by the fact that they named for her a quay on the Mayenne and that a statue of her stands in the courtyard of the château. Possibly also family contacts made in the Bouvines campaign had some bearing on the case.

Broussillon said that Béatrix brought workmen who introduced the art of weaving cloth. A Flemish historian says: "Elle avait fait venir de Flandre des ouvriers agricoles pour introduire la culture du lin dans les propriétés de son mari."[24] Possibly both of them are correct.

Who was this Béatrice de Gavre, so honoured in Laval? She was the heiress of an illustrious Flemish family which took part in the Crusades and played an important rôle in the history of Flanders all through the Middle Ages. Among the most celebrated members were:

[18] *Ibid.*, I, p. 186.
[19] *Ibid.*, I, p. 189.
[20] *Ibid.*, II, p. 1.
[21] *Ibid.*, II, pp. 13 and 34.
[22] He was with St. Louis at his death in Tunis, according to Pierre Le Baud in *Chroniques de Vitré*. There is no documentary evidence to support this statement. See *La Maison de Laval*, I, p. 272, and II, p. 34.
[23] *Op cit.*, II, p. 103.
[24] Count T. de Limburg-Stirum in an article "Les Seigneurs de Gavre" in *La Noblesse Belge: Annuaire de* 1923, Bruxelles, 1925, pp. 5–71. This remark is on p. 60.

Jean, companion in arms of Jean le Frison, count of Flanders, an ancestor of Philippe d'Alsace[25];

Rasse IV, who married in 1138 Domitiane, Domison, or Ida (Idon) de Chièvres, widow of Gilles de Chin,[26] who died 12 August 1137[27];

Rasse VI,[28] who accompanied Baudouin IX of Flanders (son of Gautier d'Arras' friend, Baudouin of Hainaut), on the Crusade of 1202; and

Rasse VIII (1253–1300),[29] who married in succession Béatrix de Longueval and Béatrix de Stryen. By the former he left a daughter, Anna-Béatrix, who inherited the seigneurie de Gavre, as well as Vinderhoute, Meerendrée and Chièvres, and, as we have seen above, carried them at the end of the thirteenth century to the Breton house of Laval by her marriage with Guy de Montmorency, Guy IX de Laval.[30]

Gavre is a small town on the Escaut not far from Ghent, of which its château formed one of the outer defences. The town was in the county of Alost, which was united to French Flanders by Philippe d'Alsace in 1173.[31]

It was towards 1286[32] that Beatrix came to Laval as a bride and lived in the château until her death 4 July 1315, according to Le Blanc de la Vignolle, although a codicil to her will is dated: *la Sainte Luce* 1315.[33] Her husband died in 1333. During her reign there was great building activity in the château. Most of the Romanesque work was modified and a storey in the Gothic style was added to the main part of the building.

At about the time of her marriage there was made in Flanders a beautiful manuscript which included the text of a romance (ff. 175*r*–184*v*) written by an official of Count Philip of Flanders, which dealt with a Breton knight who became Count of Brittany and then Emperor of Rome.

A brief look at the romance and its author should help to explain why the manuscript went to Brittany and was cherished by the family of the county of Laval. Since Rasse VI (as numbered by Limburg-Stirum),[34] the ancestor

[25] *Grande Encyclopédie*, Vol. 18, p. 629.

[26] See *Gilles de Chin: l'Histoire et la Légende* by Camille Liégeois, Louvain, 1903, in *Recueil de travaux publiés par les membres des Conférences d'Histoire et de Philologie*, XIe fascicule, and *L'Histore de Gille de Chyn by Gautier de Tournay*, edited by Edwin B. Place, Evanston, 1941, *Northwestern University Studies in the Humanities*, No. 7, a romance based on his life.

[27] Limburg-Stirum, *op. cit.*, p. 11, calls him Rasse III. Emile de Borchgrave in the article "Gavre" in *Biographie Nationale Belge*, VII (1883), p. 529, calls him Rasse IV.

[28] Rasse V in the Limburg-Stirum article, p. 22.

[29] Called Rasse VII in Limburg-Stirum, p. 44.

[30] Bertrand de Broussillon, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 101.

[31] *Biographie Nationale Belge*, VII, p. 527.

[32] Bertrand de Broussillon, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 101, on the authority of Le Blanc de la Vignolle (see Archives Nationales, MM., 746, 280). The *Guide Bleu: Les Bords de la Loire* (1952), p. 476, gives 1289, perhaps by inversion of the last digit. Guy, in his history of the *Château de Laval* (troisième édition, 1950, p. 20), says that it was in 1299, while Count T. de Limburg-Stirum, *op. cit.*, p. 60, gives 1290, on the authority of La Roque, *Traité du ban et de l'arrière-ban*, p. 102.

[33] See Bertrand de Broussillon, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 105, note 2.

[34] There is some confusion among scholars in the numbers used to designate the numerous counts who were called by the name of Rasse. I hope that I have identified them clearly enough for the purposes of this study.

of Béatrix, and Gautier d'Arras, the author of the romance, were at the same period barons of the court of Philippe d'Alsace, it seems more than a coincidence that this manuscript was in the possession of Béatrix—or at least of her descendants.

On the literary side Gautier is known as the author of two verse romances in Old French, the *Eracle* (about 1165), dealing with the Roman Empire and the finding of the True Cross, and the *Ille et Galeron* (about 1167–8). In addition his name appears as a noble and official of Count Philip, in witness to more than a hundred extant legal documents in mediaeval Latin. He lived apparently from about 1140 to about 1185.[35] The *Roman d'Eracle* exists in three manuscripts, two in the Bibliothèque Nationale in Paris and one in the library of the University of Turin. The last was badly damaged by fire and water in 1904 and part of the text is lost. However, all three manuscripts were used by Löseth in his printed edition (Paris 1890). The *Ille et Galeron* is found in two manuscripts, one *Bibl. Nat.* f. fr. 375, the other in Nottingham. It is the latter which especially interests us here.

In the prologues and epilogues of his two romances, Gautier mentions King Louis VII of France, his daughter Marie de Champagne, his seneschal and son-in-law Count Thibaut of Blois, Count Baudouin of Hainaut (brother-in-law and successor of Count Philip of Flanders), and Beatrice of Burgundy, second wife of the Emperor Frederick Barbarossa. He began the *Eracle* for Thibaut, continued it for Marie and finished it for Baudouin. He began the *Ille et Galeron* for Beatrice, but finally dedicated it to Thibaut of Blois.

From 1165 to 1185 we have Gautier constantly before our eyes in Vermandois, Artois and French and Imperial Flanders, through the documents he witnessed in the service of Count Philip of Flanders. We can only conjecture travel outside these territories, though it is almost certain that he visited the Ile-de-France, Blois and Champagne at the very least.

All five existing manuscripts of Gautier's two vernacular works are of the thirteenth century and in the Picard dialect, though the originals were certainly Francien. The Paris manuscript of *Ille et Galeron* was made in Arras in 1280. The Walloon characteristics of the Laval–Middleton manuscript place it—or at least the scribes—to the east of Arras. It was apparently made about the same time as the Paris manuscript.

The romance treats of a young Breton noble raised at the court of France. He recovers his patrimony in Brittany, marries the sister of Count Conan of Brittany, loses his left eye in a war (the Paris manuscript says in a tournament), runs away from his wife, in disguise takes command of the Roman army, defeats the Greeks and is offered half the Empire and the Emperor's daughter in marriage. But his wife finds him in Rome and they return to Brittany. After several children are born, his wife takes vows and Ille goes back to Rome.

[35] See my article "More Data on Gautier d'Arras" in *Publ. Mod. Lang. Assn.*, LXIV (1949), pp. 300–316.

He again defeats the Greeks, marries the Emperor's daughter and becomes Emperor of Rome.

We can easily see that the lords and ladies of Laval would be interested in the story of a Breton who became Emperor of Rome. But there are differences between the two manuscripts which seem to indicate that the Laval-Middleton manuscript was made especially for Béatrix and her Breton husband.

There are no miniatures in the Paris text; there are seven in the Laval–Middleton. The initial letter shows the Paschal Lamb with the Banner of the Cross. This presents a curious symbolic significance. The Lamb and Flag are a frequent subject for artistic representation and here have largely the conventional form. But the Lamb is realistically drawn and coloured. Since wool-weaving was the principal industry of Flanders, a tribute to business as well as religion is implied. It is also an emblem of the Templars, who were very active in Flanders at the time. But there are two more uses identifiable. Count Philip began most of his *chartes* with the invocation to the Trinity: *In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti, ego, Philippus, etc.* The romance begins: *Aïe, Dex, sains esperis!*, which, with the miniature of the Lamb, also gives the invocation to the Trinity. The Paris manuscript has no miniatures, so the symbolism is incomplete there. Finally, Gautier's wife was Agnès de Wavrin, sister of Hellin de Wavrin,[36] seneschal of Flanders, so the Lamb represents a secret dedication to her as well. It is not unreasonable to think that the original twelfth century manuscript contained a similar miniature.

The other *lettrines* in this part of the manuscript picture the Breton hero as a boy and as a man, the villain Rogelion, the Roman emperor and the Roman princess, but not the Breton duchess. The boy Ille is represented with drawn bow and in the coils of a dragon. Is this the *Lumeçon* that figures in the legendary history of Mons and Tournai, the struggle between St. George and the Dragon—or Gilles de Chin and the Dragon of Wasmes—that is celebrated on Trinity Sunday in the great square at Mons? According to the exhaustive study of Liégeois[37] the legend had not taken its present form at the time with which we are here dealing. But the similarities seem to be more than a coincidence. If a relationship could be established it would help to locate the origin of the manuscript in the Hainaut territory. The villain Rogelion is represented as a mounted knight in armour with crescents decorating his trappings. The Roman emperor and princess are shown in Romanesque architectural settings.

There is a curious incongruity in the itinerary that the Breton follows in going to Rome. In the Paris manuscript Ille goes through Normandy, Greater Britain, Wales, Ireland, Northumberland, Scotland, etc.[38] In the Laval–Middleton manuscript the word Brocéliande is substituted for Northumberland, which makes no sense geographically. There is no erasure, so it was apparently

[36] Dr. Pierre Feuchère, *Les Châtelains d'Arras*, Arras, 1948.
[37] Liégeois, *op. cit.*, in n. 26.
[38] L-M 1290–1309; P 1983–2000.

placed there intentionally. Did the scribe take the name from the list he found in Geoffrey of Monmouth or Wace or did he have another reason? It happens that a large part of the legendary Forest of Brocéliande (now called Paimpont) belonged at this time to the house of Laval.

Commentators on the prologues and epilogues of the two manuscripts have been puzzled by the obscure or cryptic references to the empress Béatrice. Some of the difficulties may have been due to cuts or emendations intended to make the language apply to Countess Béatrix de Gavre as well.

Before leaving the discussion of the origin of the manuscript and its possession by the Gavre–Laval family, let us look a little more closely into the relations of the Gavre family with the Wavrin family, to which Gautier was allied by marriage.

Rasse IV[39] was a member of Philip's court. He is cited in 1163 as a knight who had received a fief from the King of England.[40] In 1177 he followed Count Philip to the Holy Land. In 1185 when war broke out between the Count of Hainaut and the Count of Flanders he sided with the Count of Flanders.[41] He is the first of his family whose seal is known (in a *charte* of 1166). He was dead in 1186.

Unfortunately, when I was making my detailed investigation into the *chartes* of Philip, I did not realize that Rasse de Gavre was going to be of any importance to me. In some cases I did not transcribe the complete lists of witnesses in the unpublished *chartes* that I consulted, so my tabulation here may be incomplete; but in the *Régestes* of Coppieters–Stochove,[42] which lists most of the known charters of Philippe, out of 397 *chartes* listed with witnesses, there are 30 which bear the name of Rasse de Gavre. One of them cites him as "Boutellier." In addition there are nine with "Rasse boutellier," whom I consider to be the same person or his son. Five of these 39 *chartes* (between 1159 and 1188) also contain the name of Gautier d'Arras as a co-witness. Hellin de Wavrin, seneschal of Flanders, brother-in-law of Gautier, appears as witness on most of the *chartes*. Hellin de Cysoing, son of Hellin de Cysoing (co-witness with Gautier) and of the daughter of Hellin de Wavrin, married Jeanne, widow of Rasse de Gavre[43] in 1261. Robert II de Wavrin is said to have had three daughters married into the family of Gavre; the eldest to Rasse de Gavre (her name is not given, but it must have been Jeanne); the second, Wilhelmina, married to Jean de Gavre, seigneur d'Escornaix; the third, unnamed, married to Jean, *dit Mulaert*, seigneur d'Exaerde, brother of Rasse.[44]

With all these intermarriages between the family of Gautier and the family of Gavre it is appropriate and highly probable that a copy of the *Ille et Galeron*

[39] Limburg-Stirum's numbering, *op. cit.*, p. 16.
[40] Reymer, *Acta et foedera*, Vol. I, p. 9.
[41] *Chronique de Gislebert*, p. 190.
[42] *Régestes de Philippe d'Alsace* in *Annales de la Société d'Histoire et d'Archéologie de Gand*, Vol. VII, Gand, 1906.
[43] Félix Brassart, *Une vieille Généalogie de la Maison de Wavrin*, Douai, 1877, p. 10.
[44] Limburg-Stirum, *op. cit.*, p. 49, citing Brassart.

in possession of the Wavrin family was the source of the copy that we have in the Laval–Middleton manuscript. Is it too much to imagine that the manuscript was made to form part of the dowry of Béatrix de Gavre or even shortly after her marriage? This manuscript is the oldest of those known to have belonged to the House of Laval. We do not know when they acquired it, but I think that I have given a plausible possibility. The manuscript is in fair condition for the most part. But at some time ff. 1–5 and 8–11 were completely recopied to replace lost or mutilated pages, certain folios had their bottom halves recopied on new parchment and glued on to the top halves and there is sewing on three folios. The front cover, which is missing, possibly showed the arms of the owner, as the other Laval manuscripts did. Its presence might have simplified our problem concerning its ownership.

After the death of this great lady, the seigneurie de Gavre and her other Flemish possessions passed into the hands of her son Guy IX de Laval, and his successors held them until the sixteenth century. Jean de Laval sold Vinderhoute and Merendrée, 10 August 1508, to Jean de Rassy and Gavre on 18 June 1517 to Jacques de Luxembourg, seigneur de Fiennes.[45] I must admit that it is not impossible that the Laval–Middleton manuscript was brought from Flanders to Laval during the fourteenth or fifteenth centuries, but I prefer the hypothesis that it was in the possession of Béatrix at the end of the thirteenth or the beginning of the fourteenth.

We can now pass to the fifteenth century, to the times of Jeanne d'Arc and the Hundred Years' War (1338–1453).

As should be expected of a family that included the great Du Guesclin, the Laval gentlemen took a prominent part in the struggle against the English, on the side of Charles of Blois. This contributed an important episode in the history of the town and, I feel sure, of the manuscript.

The Duke of Bedford, English count of Anjou and Maine, had, 1 March 1428, conceded the "baronnie, terre, seigneurie, justice, cens, rentes et autres possessions de Laval–Guyon"[46] to Lord Talbot. This John Talbot, second son of Richard, fifth baron Talbot, fought in France from 1420 to 1424, then in the Welsh marches, then again in France from 1427. In 1442, during a visit to England, he was made Earl of Shrewsbury.[47] He died in 1453, defeated and slain at Castillon.

[45] Limburg-Stirum, *op. cit.*, pp. 60–5.

[46] From letter quoted by Bertrand de Broussillon, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, pp. 6–7.

[47] This is one of the most ancient earldoms in the English peerage. Roger de Montgomery (1030–94), son of Roger de Montgomery, was counsellor of William of Normandy before 1066 and probably governed Normandy during the invasion of England. He received territory in Sussex, including Chichester and Arundel Castle. In 1071 the greater part of Shropshire was granted him. He was generally styled Earl of Shrewsbury, as his principal residence was in the castle of Shrewsbury. His son Robert, better known as Robert de Belesme, having been deprived of all his English estates and titles in 1102, the title lapsed. It was revived in 1442 to honour John Talbot, member of another ancient family. In the twelfth century Hue Talbot had married a daughter of Waleran de Meulan, one of those to whom Geoffrey of Monmouth dedicated his *Historia Regum Britanniae*. See articles in *Encyclopedia Britannica* under Shrewsbury and Talbot.

On 13 March 1428, by a surprise attack, Talbot succeeded in capturing the town of Laval, while André de Laval-Lohéac, younger brother of Guy XIV, shut himself up in the château, expecting to hold out long enough to permit the French to come and recover the town. But after three days he had to surrender the château. The capitulation was signed 16 March by Jean de la Chapelle and Jean de Vaux, against a ransom of 16,000 écus d'or. It was a terrible disaster for the city, for, in the words of the *Chronique de la Pucelle* of Cousinot: "Il y avoit moult de richesses dedans qu'ils pillèrent et firent tout ce qu'ennemis pouvoient faire."[48] Our manuscript was probably among the plunder. The English held Laval for eighteen months. They were driven out on 25 September 1429 by another surprise attack in which French troops were let in by a devoted miller, Jehan Fouquet.

In the meantime Guy XIV, his brother André de Laval-Lohéac, Gilles de Laval-Retz (the famous Bluebeard) and many gentlemen of Maine were following the Duke of Alençon in support of Jeanne d'Arc. On the day of his coronation at Reims, 16 July 1429, Charles VII raised the barony of Laval to a countship and named Gilles de Retz marshal of France.

Count Guy XIV was later son-in-law of Jean V, duke of Brittany, and father-in-law of King René d'Anjou, whose portait may be seen along with that of his second wife, Jeanne de Laval, in the famous tryptich *Le Buisson Ardant* in the cathedral of Aix-en-Provence. Guy's daughter Hélène de Laval married Jean de Malestroit, seigneur de Derval, in 1451. With the coming of peace they devoted their attention to repairing, enlarging and remodelling the château and to collecting fine manuscripts. The Bibliothèque Nationale possesses nine works in 19 manuscript volumes that belonged to them. The Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal has two (one manuscript and one printed). The Bibliothèque Mazarine has one. The Bibliothèque Municipale of Rouen has five of the Laval–Derval manuscripts, which had been given to the Capucins de Mortagne by a "Mme de La Barre, soeur du feu M. Abot, bailli du Perche,' whence they passed into the Rouen Library.[49]

[48] *Chronique de la Pucelle ou Chronique de Cousinot*, publié par Vallet de Viriville, Paris, Delahaye, 1859, p. 254, and Bertrand de Broussillon, *op. cit.*, Vol. III (1900), p. 7, quoting Cousinot.

[49] For an excellent account of the Bibliothèque Nationale, Arsenal, Mazarine and Rouen manuscripts, see the article by Mlle. J. Dupic, librarian at Rouen, in *Trésors des Bibliothèques de France*, XIX (1935): "Un Bibliophile Breton du XVe Siècle, Jean de Derval," which has full-page reproductions of one illustration from the Froissart manuscript and one from Le Baud's *Cronicque de Bretagne*. Mlle. Dupic's article mentions two other Derval manuscripts about which I know nothing: *Gestes et faits des anciens, par maître Henri Romain* in the library of Dresden (MS. 077; parchemin, XVe siècle); and a *Book of Hours* with the Derval arms from the library of a Norman collector Charles Lormier, sold at the Hôtel Drouot in 1901. From a copy of the catalogue of the sale in the Arras Library I learned the price for which it was sold—2500 francs, but not the name of the purchaser. The carton containing the original bill of sale had been temporarily misplaced when I visited the Archives de la Seine in May 1958. Until that is found, I have no further clues to its present whereabouts.

In 1955 there was called to my attention an article[50] containing descriptions of two other fine manuscripts supposedly lost, one a *Livre d'Heures* presented to Isabelle de Bretagne, grand-daughter of Isabeau de Bavière and Charles VI, on the occasion of her marriage in 1432 to Guy XIV, count of Laval[51]; the other, *Le Songe du Vergier*, made in Paris about 1450 for André de Laval-Lohéac (1411–86).[52] I have since "found" these two manuscripts. The *Book of Hours* was sold by Sotheby's in 1937 to the late C. Gulbenkian and will in due time be one of the prize exhibits of the Gulbenkian Foundation's museum under construction at Lisbon. The *Songe du Vergier* may still be in the Paris bookshop of Lardanchet, where I examined it in 1957.

All the above works are of the fifteenth century, the earliest dated one being of 1417 (Bibl. Nat., f. fr. 163). It seems unlikely that the Laval–Middleton manuscript belonged to Monsieur and Madame de Derval. All their volumes are bound with the arms of the Derval and Laval families on the covers. It may have belonged to Anne de Laval (died 1466). She married Jean de Montfort, who then took the name of Guy XIII de Laval. We have seen that the manuscript has the statement of ownership: "Cest livre est Madame de la Val," *not* Derval. The very fact that the front cover is missing seems an argument in favour of my theory that it was stolen. It seems very unlikely that the Laval family, which was so fond of collecting fine manuscripts, would part voluntarily with such a treasure as this collection of romances and fabliaux.

Our manuscript was in England in the latter part of the fifteenth century. How did it get there? It is hardly likely that Jean de Derval would carry it there when he went as member of an embassy in 1465, or that he sold it or gave it away. The only plausible theory to me is that one of Talbot's army carried it away from Laval as plunder of war after the sack of 1428.

Since it was in possession of a John Bertram of Thorpe Kilton, I tried to find out something about the place and person.

Thorpe Kilton (or Kilton Thorpe) is in the North Riding of Yorkshire, township of Kilton, parish of Skelton, six miles from Guisborough. It is now a farm with the remains of two ancient manors remodelled into tenements.[53] The castle of Kilton was on a projecting spur on the west side of Kilton Dale. It appears to have become a ruin in the fourteenth century and is last mentioned (in documents) in 1696. It is still rather impressive in its decay. In 1086 the Count of Mortain held land in Kilton and Kilton Thorpe. By 1309 the

[50] *Bulletin de la Commission Historique et Archéologique de la Mayenne. . . .* Deuxième série, tome LXIII, 1953, Laval. Imprimerie-Librairie Goupil: "Deux manuscrits de la Maison de Laval," pp. 76–8.

[51] It was copied in the same Parisian atelier as a similar one made for the Duke of Bedford, now in the British Museum. It is best known as the Lamoignon *Book of Hours*. It was long in the possession of the Duke of Newcastle.

[52] Admiral and Marshal of France, grand captain in the Hundred Years' War, lieutenant of the king, brother of Guy XIV and son-in-law of Gilles de Rais (or Retz).

[53] *Langdale's Topographical Dictionary of Yorkshire*, 1822.

overlordship had passed to the Percys of Kildale. It was also in the hands of the Thweng family. Kilton Hall is north-west of the castle and farther north is Kilton Mill, which was appurtenant to the manor in 1341, when it was described as broken down. The manor of Kilton Thorpe seems to have been a ruin in the seventeenth century.[54]

So much for the place. Finding the man Bertram is not so easy. Deeds disappear and parish registers of the fifteenth century are rare. The name Bartram is common enough in the north country. Scattered documents give some suggestions, but nothing conclusive. I shall set down what I have found for what it is worth, without making any extravagant claims.

A search of the records of the Yorkshire Historical Society at Leeds, the county archives at Northallerton and the Archbishops' Registers at York brought no information about a Bertram of Kilton. I did find in the Archbishops' Registers the will of a Thomas Bertram, rector of Fishlake, West Riding, dated 24 February 1347 and that of James Bartram, late of "Stokesley Chauntrie priest within the County of York," dated 3 January 1544–5. The latter mentions a brother John, whom I have been unable to identify further. This item seemed promising, as Stokesley was a neighbouring parish to Kilton in Skelton parish and was a manor of considerable importance in the thirteenth century. Probably in the reign of William Rufus, Guy de Balliol received a grant of the barony of Stokesley. A daughter Hawise married a William Bertram. During the reign of Henry I, Guy granted the church at Stokesley to St. Mary's Abbey, York. A chantry, known as Middleton's Chantry, was founded in Stokesley Church by William Stokesley in 1360.[55]

I found one charter that might have some bearing on our problem. It relates to the "grant by Alexander de Newby, Robert de Mulewath and Roger, son of Alexander, to the church of Ripon, of the greater holme near the ditch of Skelton, for the foundation of a chapel there with such liberties as other chapels of the parish of St. Wilfrid have, namely service of mass once a year on the feast of the saint in whose honour the chapel is built (*c.* 1170–80, MS. of the late T. S. Darnbrough, n. 36, pd. in Fowler, *Memor. of Ripon*, i, 203). Among the witnesses for "capitulo sancti Wilfridi 7 capellanis" is a *Bertramo*. This Skelton belonged to the demesne of the church of Ripon[56] and is on the little river Skell which flows into the river Ure nearby. It is not the same Skelton as the parish of that name in which Kilton is found, though both are in Yorkshire. Seemingly all that this document shows is that the name Bertram was prominent in this region several centuries before the time with which we are concerned.

[54] See *A History of Yorkshire North Riding*, Vol. II, pp. 327–30, in *The Victoria History of the Counties of England.*

[55] *A History of Yorkshire North Riding*, Vol. II, pp. 302–8, and *History of Northumberland* (North. County Hist. Com.), VI, 21.

[56] *Early Yorkshire Charters*, No. 124, pp. 114–5.

The name Bertram seems to have appeared at the time of the Conquest when the castle of Mitford in Northumberland was held by Sir John de Mitford. His only daughter and heiress, Sibella Mitford, was given in marriage by the Conqueror to Sir Richard Bertram, a Norman knight from Coutance and from this union sprang the old baronial house of Bertram of Mitford, the head of which, Roger Bertram, was summoned to Parliament by Henry III in 1264. This barony fell into abeyance on the decease of the first lord's grand-daughter, Agnes Bertram.

In a charter of 1154–*c.* 1160 a knight *Ultredo filio Bertrami* is one of the witnesses.[57] A document of *c.* 1170–7 states that the archbishop of York has instituted John, the clerk of Roger Bertram, as parson of Hickleton (which seems to have been held of the Balliols by the Bertrams of Mitford). Roger Bertram, lord of Mitford, died before Michaelmas 1177, when William Bertram, his son, rendered account for his father's land (*Pipe Rolls* 23 Hen. II, 83).[58] Robert Nevil, lord of Raby and Branspath in 1257 married Ida Bertram.[59] Robert Ogle, son and heir of Robert, fourth Lord Ogle, married Mary, daughter of Sir Cuthbert Bartram, knight. The sixth Lord Ogle had two daughters, Jane and Catherine. Jane married Edward Talbot, Earl of Shrewsbury, who dwelt in Bothal Castle.[60]

A Sir Robert Ogle married Elena, daughter and sole heir of Sir Robert Bertram, baron of Bothal. He died in 1362, leaving a son John FitzRobert, called John Bertram of Ogle, according to an indenture of 1406 for the possession of the manor and castle of Bothal.[61]

On 5 June 1408, this John Bertram enfeoffed several clerks in a number of properties "so that these might remain after his death to his eldest son, Robert and his heirs, with remainder to his youngest son, John Bertram and his heirs, with remainder to his own right heirs male on condition that such heirs male should bear the name of Ogle with the arms of Ogle and Bertram quartered."

This younger son became Sir John Bertram, alias Ogle, knight, baron of Bothal. He was probably born in 1382. His brother Robert besieged him in his castle in 1409 and took it from him. He petitioned the king and was reinstated. In 1414 he was warden of Roxburgh Castle. In 1419 he went to France to fight.[62] How long he stayed there we do not know.

[57] *Early Yorkshire Charters*, No. 37, p. 43.
[58] *Hist. York. No. Riding*, II, No. 584, p. 456.
[59] *Ibid.*, p. 303.
[60] *Ogle and Bothal or a History of the Baronies of Ogle, Bothal and Hepple, and of the Families of Ogle and Bertram*, etc., by Sir Henry A. Ogle, Bart. (printed privately), Newcastle upon Tyne, 1902, p. 338.
[61] *Ibid.*, pp. 38 ff.
[62] 28 May 1419. Protection to Thos. Frankelyn, servant of Rich. Knyghtley, one of the numerators of the Exchequer, in the retinue of John Bartrem, Knight, Keeper of Rokesburgh (Roxburgh) Castle, Scotland. (From the French Rolls. Appendix to the 44th report of the Deputy Keeper of the Public Records, Vol. 105, Henry V and Henry VI p. 611. 7 Henry V, membrane 10.)

He may have made several crossings. In 1428 he was trustee for Chipchase Castle, so he seems to have returned to England in the year of the sack of Laval. If we could connect him in any way with Kilton he would be in my opinion the likeliest candidate for the doubtful honour of having carried the Laval–Middleton manuscript to England. In 1429 he was sub-commissioner on the marches for settling disputes on the border. In 1438 he was, with the dukes of Gloucester, Norfolk and others a conservator of the truce with Scotland. He died in 1449.[63] Apparently when he died he was warden of the castle of Newcastle upon Tyne.

John is mentioned in a document of 1432.[64]. He is also mentioned in documents of 1435, 1440, 1442, 1445 and 1446 as executor of Thomas, Duke of Exeter. Also in the following:

> To the escheator in Northumberland. Order to take of Joan, who was wife of John Bertram, knight, an oath, etc. . . . and in presence of William Bertram son and heir of the said John, or of his attornies, to assign her dower.[65]

and:

> John Bertram knight by charter . . . with license of the king gave all the premises . . . by virtue of that gift they were thereof seised long before the death of John Bertram, at his death and after . . . by the service of castle ward of Newcastle upon Tyne, and by suit at the county [court] of Northumberland in that castle holden every six weeks. . . .[66]

Finally we have another entry:

> 1454. John Bertram, exec. Thomas, Duke of Exeter to John Prior of Carthusians near London.[67]

Was this a younger son of the preceding? A younger son would be likely to live in one of the minor holdings of a great estate. Can he be the one whose name appears on the Laval–Middleton manuscript? It is even possible that it was the son instead of the father who was mentioned in the earlier documents on the Exeter estate.[68]

[63] *Ogle and Bothal*, p. 45.
[64] *Calendar of Close Rolls II Henry VI.* Membrane 18d, p. 228.
[65] *Ibid.*, 23 November 1450. Westminster, membrane 26, p. 204.
[66] *Ibid.*, 1450, Northumberland, p. 209.
[67] *Ibid.*, p. 488.
[68] Additional documents bearing on the above:

Calendar of Close Rolls, II Henry VI:
P. 252. 1465 Joan Bertram, to hold the manor of Boney of the king and his heirs.
French Rolls:
Apr. 21, 1422–4. Protection to John Stokes of London, in the retinue of lord de Wylughby.
May 11. Commission to Rob. de Wylughby and Thos. de Ponynges to raise men-at-arms and bowmen for service in France under the Duke of Bedford.
Membrane 4:
May 1. Letters of attorney to Rob. de Wylughby, Lord of Eresby, knight, going abroad.
May 2. Same to the Duke of Bedford.
P. 276 March, May, July 1429–30. Protection etc. . . . and John Kyrksby, of York, in the retinue of Robt. Ogle, knight, captain of Rokysburgh Castle.

It is in this state of uncertainty that my investigation stands at present. The Bartrams married Ogles, the Ogles married Willoughbys and the Willoughbys married Middletons. The Bartram–Ogles even married Talbots. We do not have to strain our imaginations, in the absence of the facts, over the manner in which our manuscript got to Wollaton Hall—perhaps by sale when Kilton Thorpe decayed, perhaps by inheritance or gift. Apparently it had been there since the reign of Henry VIII, for it was discovered by Mr. Stevenson in a box marked "Old Papers—no value," with letters from Henry VIII and other old documents and manuscripts.

FREDERICK A. G. COWPER

APPENDIX

LAVAL–DERVAL MANUSCRIPTS

In addition to the Laval–Bertram–Wollaton–Middleton manuscript that I have discussed at length in the foregoing article, the known existing manuscripts that belonged to the Laval–Derval family are as follows:

Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris:

MS. français 163.—*Bible historiaus* de Petrus Comestor—parchment, 1417.
MSS. fr. 317–27.—*Miroir historial* de Vincent de Beauvais, translated by Jean de Vignay—paper, with four miniatures on parchment, fifteenth century.
MS. fr. 1005.—*Le Trésor de l'Ami*, par le P. Robert, chartreux—paper, fifteenth century.
MS. fr. 1187.—Christine de Pisan, *Epître d'Othea à Hector*; Laurent de Premierfait, *Traduction du "de Senectute"*—parchment, fifteenth century.
MSS. fr. 2663–4.—*Chroniques de Froissart*—parchment, fifteenth century. (Plate LIX in *Trésors des Bibliothèques Françaises.*)
MS. fr. 8266.—*Cronicques de Bretagne* of Pierre Le Baud—parchment, fifteenth century. (Plate LVIII in *Trésors.*) (Not cited by Delisle. Belonged once to a d'Argentré.)
MS. fr. 10134.—*Chronique* of Guillaume de Nangis—parchment, fifteenth century.
MS. fr. 17810.—*Histoire des faits de Simon de Montfort*, translated from the *Chronique* of Pierre des Vaux-de-Cernay—paper, fifteenth century.
MS. fr. 25211.—*Le Bréviaire des Bretons*, by Pierre Le Baud—parchment, fifteenth century.

Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, Paris:

MS. 3515.—*Compilation historique*, extraits de Vincent de Beauvais, Raoul de Presles, Petrus Comestor, Flavius Josephus, etc.—parchment, fifteenth century.
(This is Vol. I of a three-volume compilation. It belonged to Jean de Derval. Vols. II and III were made for Jacques de Brézé and bear his arms.)
Hist. 1582.—*Grandes Chroniques de France*, Paris, printed by Pasquier Bonhomme, 1476 (1477 new style), 3 vols., in folio.
(Only Vols. I and III have the arms of Jean de Derval. His copy of Vol. II is in the Bibliothèque de Rouen.)

Bibliothèque Mazarine, Paris:

MS. 1595.—*De Dictus et factis memorabilibus* of Valerius Maximus, translation of Simon de Hesdin—parchment, fifteenth century. (The catalogue states incorrectly that the arms on the first folio are of Olivier de Blois and of Marguerite de Clisson, his mother.)

Bibliothèque Municipale de Rouen:

MS. 1.19.—*L'Horloge de Sapience*, by Suso—paper, fifteenth century.
MS. 1.25.—*Livre de la moralité sur le jeu des échecs*, by Jacques de Cessoles, translated by Jean de Vignay; *les Sept fruits de tribulation: les Loyers des bons en Paradis*, by St. Augustin; *Livre de la misère de l'homme*, by Innocent III; *les Leçons de Job*, by Pierre de Nesson—paper, fifteenth century.
MS. 0.11 bis.—*Ovide moralisé*, by Chrétien Legouais (incomplete, stops at Book IX)—paper; one miniature on parchment, fifteenth century.

MS. 0.23.—*Le Livre du trésor*, of Brunetto Latini—paper, fifteenth century.
MS. 0.28.—Translation of *De Officiis* of Cicero and the "Curial" of Alain Chartier—paper, fifteenth century.

All these volumes came from the Capucins de Mortagne, to whom they had been given in 1678 by "Mlle de La Barre, soeur de feu M. Abot, bailli du Perche."

In addition, the library of Rouen possesses tome II of the *Chroniques de France* mentioned above, the other two volumes being in the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal.

Mlle J. Dupic mentions two other Derval manuscripts in her article in the *Trésors des Bibliothèques de France*, XIX (1935), p. 160:

Gestes et faits des anciens, by maître Henri Romain, in the Library of Dresden—MS. 077, parchment, fifteenth century;

and a *Book of Hours* in the library of a Norman collector Charles Lormier, sold at the Hôtel Drouot in 1901 (1re partie No. 32). The sale catalogue has a full description of it, but beyond the pencilled notation of the purchase price (2500 francs) in a copy of the catalogue in the Bibliothèque d'Arras, I have no further information about it.

While I was working in the Archives de la Mayenne in Laval in 1955, the archivists called to my attention a short article in the *Bulletin de la Commission Historique et Archéologique de la Mayenne*, 2e série, tome LIII (1953), pp. 76–8. A brief introductory paragraph signed "H. C." notes two additional manuscripts which had belonged to the Laval–Derval family and expresses regret that their whereabouts are now unknown. There follows a reproduction of an article by Louis Vauxcelles in *Excelsior*, 13 May 1937, on the Lamoignon *Book of Hours* made for Isabelle de Bretagne and later in the collection of the Duke of Newcastle, and the description of a manuscript of *Le Songe du Vergier* made for André de Laval, brother-in-law of Isabelle, taken from the 1953 catalogue of the Librairie Lardanchet in Paris.

I decided to try to find out what had become of these two manuscripts.

Since it was stated that the *Book of Hours* was to be put up for sale at Sotheby's on 21 June 1937, I asked the cataloguing department at the Duke University to check on sales at that time. Miss Gertrude Merritt turned up the information from *British Book Prices Current*, 1937, that on that date the Lamoignon manuscript had been sold to Giraud-Badin of Paris for £13,500. Later, in London at the British Museum, I asked for further information in the Readers' Room. Their copy of the sale list had the name "Gulbenkian" written in pencil under the printed name of Giraud-Badin. I then went to Sotheby's. Their expert, Mr. Ochs, told me that Mr. Gulbenkian often attended their auctions and sometimes bought something. He thought that he recalled having seen this manuscript at his London house, but was not sure. Gulbenkian was of course Calouste Gulbenkian, the fabulously rich oil man who died in Lisbon in 1955 and left most of his money and art treasures to establish the Gulbenkian Foundation.

At Giraud-Badin's in Paris I was told that they had not handled the transaction, that M. Gulbenkian had done it personally, and that the manuscript was probably in Portugal.

I wrote to Dr. Azeredo Perdigão, a Lisbon lawyer who was an old friend of Calouste Gulbenkian and a trustee of the Foundation. He turned my letter over to Mr. K. L. Essayan, Gulbenkian's son-in-law and also a trustee, who informed me that Mr. Gulbenkian had actually bought the Lamoignon *Book of Hours* in 1937 and that it "is in a locked safe, along with other works of art, and accessibility thereto is a matter of difficulty, until the estate has been finally settled. In due course this manuscript will be exhibited, along with others, and if the matter is still of interest to you, I shall be very glad to let you have full particulars, and indeed a photograph, if you so desire. However, that for the time being is impossible." (Letter of 27 June 1957.)

As to the *Songe du Vergier*, I went to Lardanchet's, where I found the manuscript and examined it at leisure. A full description with a single-page reproduction (reduced) in colour of one of the two full-page illustrations is found in his 1956 catalogue (No. 50). A double-page reproduction in black-and-white was given in his 1953 catalogue (No. 47). The decorations are similar to those in the Bedford and the Lamoignon *Book of Hours*.

THE SPICERS AND APOTHECARIES OF THE ROYAL HOUSEHOLD IN THE REIGNS OF HENRY III, EDWARD I AND EDWARD II

In the period which Charles Singer[1] called the Dark Ages of Medicine, from the death of Bede in 735 to about 1150, conditions in England were unfavourable for the development of pharmacy. Although the Anglo-Saxons used some imported drugs, most of their medicinal remedies consisted of indigenous drugs, the preparation of which involved only a limited amount of pharmaceutical knowledge. These Anglo-Saxon "simples" may be sharply contrasted with the Salernitan "electuaries," which came into use in Europe in the twelfth century. The electuaries not only required more skill in their preparation, but they contained a wider variety of imported drugs than the earlier medicines. Further, the practice of pharmacy, as distinct from the joint practice of pharmacy and medicine, is likely to have been economically profitable only in an urban community. In the early Middle Ages the general medical practitioner (*fisicus, medicus, leech*) was responsible for both the prescribing and the preparation of medicines. The embryo pharmacist (*épicier, spicer, apothecarius*) originated in Arab countries about the ninth century, and in Europe a separation of pharmacy from medicine only gradually spread northwards from Sicily and Spain,[2] where the impact of Arab culture was immediate and powerful.

Many economic historians have written on the trade in spices or rather in spicery, and I have myself stressed its importance in the development of British pharmacy.[3] In England some trade in spicery had long existed, but evidence from many sources indicates that in the thirteenth century it had assumed considerable proportions. This was at least the case in London, where the spice merchants, the pepperers and spicers, who may be compared with the *pévriers* and *épiciers* of, for example, Montpellier, were already important. The London pepperers had an adulterine guild in the time of Henry II and the large number of Mayors of the City recruited from their ranks attests

[1] History of Medicine Section of the Royal Society of Medicine, 7 January 1917; reprinted in *Sidelights on the History of Medicine* (editor Sir Z. Cope, 1957), pp. 37–46.

[2] The Sicilian "Constitutiones" of 1240 under Frederick II have long been regarded as the first legal enactments relating to European pharmacy; W. H. Hein and K. Saffert have, however, recently drawn attention to earlier medical legislation under Roger II in 1140, which was modified in 1231 to include two sections on the apothecaries, which sections were further modified in 1240. (*Rev. Hist. Pharm.* (Paris), 1956, Sept., 401.) Accounts of early European pharmacy, with many references, are in E. Kremers and G. Urdang, *History of Pharmacy*; D. G. Folch Jou, *Historia de la Farmacia*; M. Bouvet, *Histoire de la Pharmacie en France*; and L. Irissou, *La Pharmacie à Montpellier des Origines aux Statuts de 1572.*

[3] G. E. Trease, *From Wortcunning to Pharmacognosy*, Inaugural Lecture, Nottingham, 1957. It is better to speak of spicery rather than spices, since the former term had a very wide meaning and included all drugs and the medicines prepared from them.

their significant rôle in its commerce. Their place in our present study is a minor one since their activities were confined to London, a fact apparently not noted elsewhere, and their chief rôle was that of large-scale importers. The spicers, on the other hand, were primarily retail traders, although some were engaged in overseas trade and even owned ships.[4] The surname Spicer[5] is met with in 1184, but the occupation must have been well established some time before this date. By the fourteenth century spicers were found in most large provincial towns and some were obviously men of substance.[6] The term *apotheca*, meaning originally a store-place, particularly for wine, gradually came to mean a store-place for spicery and eventually a pharmacy. In England the name *apothecarius* became common in the latter half of the thirteenth century. It was applied to a spicer who tended to specialize in pharmacy, but there are many examples of men being called sometimes spicer, sometimes apothecary, and the apothecaries were slow to relinquish their general trade in spicery.[7] It is often convenient, especially from *c.* 1250 to 1300 to use the term "spicer-apothecary."[8] The guilds to which spicers, apothecaries and often physicians belonged, varied considerably from place to place, but in London the pepperers and spicers (including "spicer-apothecaries") were united in the Guild of St. Anthony, which later evolved into the Grocers' Company.

The mediaeval apothecary must often have been tempted to adulterate his wares or substitute a drug which he had available for one which it was impossible or difficult to obtain. In the case of the complex electuaries of the period, the detection of adulteration with the methods then available would be virtually impossible once the preparation had been made. Regulations, which naturally varied from place to place and at different times, were made to overcome this. In some cities the apothecary was compelled to make the more complicated and expensive preparations in public, observed by a committee of master apothecaries, physicians and town officials.[9] Weights and measures

[4] Thus John Goterest, spicer, had the ship "La Elizabeth" (*Calendar of Close Rolls, 1354*, 45).

[5] G. Fransson, *Middle English Surnames of Occupation, 1100–1350* (1935), p. 68.

[6] Joce le Specer, sheriff of London 1218–9; Willelmus le Specer, mayor of Winchester (*CCR, 1249*, 170); John le Especer, mayor of York in 1273 and his son mayor 1301–4; (F. Drake, *Eboracum* (1736), p. 359); Philip, known both as spicer and apothecary (see (p. 29) was bailiff of Gloucester in 1263–4; John the Spicer was mayor of Bristol in 1349 Nottingham had a William le Specer in 1281, a Stephen le Specer who was bailiff in 1299 and a Laurence le Specer who was bailiff in 1314–5 and mayor in 1331–2 and 1335–6. Ralph, son of Gilbert le Especer of Nottingham, held land and houses thereon in the daily market (*foro cotidiano*), now a much restricted area in High Pavement (*Calendar of Charter Rolls, 1340*, 481).

[7] Thus Bartholomew Thomasyn of Lucca, citizen and merchant of London (*CCR, 1341*, 309), described as *apotechar'* (*CCR, 1342*, 590), was allowed to ship wool (*CCR, 1342*, 574, 590) and tin (*CCR, 1342*, 603).

[8] Some editors have translated *apothecarius* as spicer and vice versa; others have rendered these words as "grocer," a term which came into use at a later period.

[9] English and French practice was doubtless similar and F. Prevet in *Les Statuts et Règlements des Apothicaires* (1950) prints the statutes from 1271 onwards. The occupation was not confined to men and the 1271 statute of the Paris Faculty of Medicine refers to "*apothecarius seu apothecaria.*" Our close links with Gascony make M. Pistre's *Histoire Toulousaine du Métier d'Apothicaire* of interest to English readers.

were a constant source of trouble.[10] Spicer-apothecaries also sold their goods at fairs where they would have to conform to the practices approved by the Piedpowder Court.[11] They had apprentices who, if Montpelleran practices were followed in England, would be required to attend fairs or go wherever their masters' business required.[12]

Whilst further study is desirable regarding the apparatus and processes used by the mediaeval apothecary it appears that archaeologists have discovered little pottery which can definitely be called pharmaceutical. The explanation for this would seem to be firstly that wooden boxes and similar perishable containers were more convenient for carrying to fairs or, in the case of a court apothecary, for following an army or itinerant court; and, secondly, that where pots, bowls and pans were used by apothecaries they were of types already used for domestic and other purposes and therefore cannot be recognized unless they contain the remains of drugs. Similarly, mortars and pestles were widely used for both pharmaceutical and non-pharmaceutical purposes. The documents referred to below make mention of preparations which involve filtration (e.g. spiced wines), distillation (e.g. aqua vitae), steam distillation (e.g. rose water), fusion (e.g. the colouring of wax for seals)[13], as well as the common operations of powdering, mixing and solution. A piece of mediaeval apparatus which it is believed has never been mentioned elsewhere is the lead plate for ointment-making referred to in Document K.

The documents A–K, which I print at the end of the article, while they are primarily intended to show the work of the royal apothecaries, do also illuminate the materia medica and pharmacy of the period, since they show drugs actually used and not merely those represented in formularies. In elucidating the nature of these drugs it is necessary to consider the herbals and formularies

[10] Even the regulations made by Edward I are confusing, that portion which deals with pharmaceutical weights reading: "Item, it is to be known that the pound of pence, spices, confections, as of electuaries, consisteth in weight of twenty shillings. But the pound of all other things weigheth twenty five shillings. But in electuaries the ounce consisteth of twenty pence and the pound contains 12 ounces; but in other things the pound contains 15 ounces; but the ounce in either case is in weight twenty pence" (*E.E.T.S.*, No. 40, p. 367). In 1395 Nottingham apothecaries were in trouble both for inaccurate weights and for mixing old spices with new ones: "Item, dicunt quod omnes ipotecarii Notinghamiensis vendunt species per pondera indebita et infidelia, non tenentes le *standard*, et etiam mingunt veteres species cum novis, contra statutum Domini Regis inde editum et factum" (*Records of Borough of Nottingham*, I, 280).

[11] The "apothecarii" are specially mentioned in the charter of *c.* 1300 relating to Lenton fair (*Records of Borough of Nottingham*, I, 60).

[12] "The same day (2nd Feb. 3 Ed. II) Geoffrey Persone de Sudbury, Co. Suffolk, late apprentice of Richard de Mountpelers, apothecary, admitted to the freedom of London" (*Cal. Letter Books*, D, 107).

[13] When the court apothecaries coloured wax for the privy and other seals they probably used a formula similar to that given in W. R. Dawson, *A Leechbook of the 15th C.*, p. 295: "For to make red wax to seal with. Melt a pound of wax with an ounce of turpentine, and strain it to void the filth, and put thereto when it is down from the fire an ounce of vermillion whilst it is luke(warm), and stir it well as it cools and set it into cakes. And so do with verdigris for green wax."

then in use.[14] The documents mention, in addition to many Eastern spices such as cinnamon, nutmeg, mace and clove, a number of drugs of Arab commerce which were then probably of recent introduction into England. These include musk (Ar. *musk*), ambergris (Ar. *anbar*), camphor (Ar. *kafur*), senna (Ar. *sana*) and tutty (Ar. *toutîa*). It will be noted that the spelling used is often nearer the Arabic than the modern English. It was, however, the introduction of sugar which produced the greatest single change in mediaeval pharmacy, and the large quantities of sugar, syrups and other preparations containing sugar will be noted, for example, in documents A, B and D.

SPICERS AND APOTHECARIES OF THE ROYAL HOUSEHOLDS

For reasons such as those given in my introduction it is unlikely that the office of royal apothecary existed before the thirteenth century, and it is not possible to accept the statement made by C. J. S. Thompson regarding an apothecary of Henry II.[15]

The drugs used by the court physicians formed only a small part of the trade of the men who supplied the domestic offices of the household, such as the spicery and kitchens. In seeking the origin of the royal apothecaries one must look, therefore, in the ranks of those who supplied the household as a whole, the spice merchants, buyers or purveyors. The organization of the household underwent many changes during our period,[16] and it will be convenient to study the careers of individual spicers and apothecaries before attempting to draw any conclusions regarding them and the working of the various household ordinances. For our purpose the more or less independent households of the queens and of certain princes are particularly informative since mentions of apothecaries are most numerous in times of illness, and frequent childbearing and a heavy infant mortality made such occasions common in the subsidiary households. Many of the early royal apothecaries, unlike the court physicians, were "out of court" for the greater part of the year, being summoned to prepare spiced wines for the three great festivals of the year, and at other times to provide for illness or a pharmaceutical service in war. Many were men of substance actively engaged in commerce. At court they probably had many non-pharmaceutical duties and they are just as likely

[14] The *Ordinationes Facultatis Medicinae Parisiensis de Apothecariis ca. an. 1322* required all apothecaries to possess a copy of the *Antidotarium Nicolai* (F. Prevet, *Les Statuts et Règlements des Apothicaires* (1950), I, p. 21). Similarly in 1422 they were required to have the *Synonima* [*Serapionis*] *correcta* and the *Circa instans* of Matthew Platearius (F. Prevet, *op. cit.*, I, p. 36). See my appendix, II, p. 47.

[15] C. J. S. Thompson, *The Mystery and Romance of Alchemy and Pharmacy* (1897), p. 175. Thompson's statement was contradicted by C. R. B. Barrett in the Introduction to his *History of the Society of Apothecaries* (1905), p. xv, and I find no evidence of a court apothecary before the reign of John.

[16] T. F. Tout, *Chapters in the Administrative History of Mediaeval England*, Vols. I–VI; J. F. Willard and W. A. Morris, *The English Government at Work, 1327–1336*.

to be described as king's clerk, king's serjeant or under-usher as by their pharmaceutical titles of spicer or apothecary.

The search for apothecaries and other men closely connected with the supply of spicery to the court provides us with the following names: William the king's spicer (under John); Joseph the Spicer, Bartholomew Spicer, Richard Derkyn, Robert Montpellier (under Henry III); Richard Montpellier, Henry Montpellier, Peter de Paris (under Edward I); and Peter Montpellier, Odinet the Apothecary (under Edward II).[17]

William the King's Spicer is referred to as *Willelmus speciarius* in the reign of John[18] and once when witnessing a charter as *Willelmus speciarius regis*.[19] This is the earliest mention I have found of the office of royal spicer or apothecary.

Joseph the Spicer supplied the court with considerable quantities of spicery about 1236. In that year under the name Joceus the Spicer (*speciarius*) of London he was paid £6 10s. 2d. for spicery (*specieria*) bought from him by Master Ralph de Neketon, the king's physician (*fisicus*).[20] Later in the same year he was similarly paid £7 14s. 0d. for spices and electuaries.[21] Joseph was obviously in the king's favour, and further writs of 1237[22] read, "Pay to Joceus the Spicer of London 10 marks of the king's gift," and another, "To the sheriffs of London, contrabreve to cause Joceus the Spicer of London to have a robe of green, to wit a tunic and supertunic furred with squirrel (*cum ferrura de scurellio*), of the king's gift, and to cause his wife to have a robe of green, to wit a tunic and cloak (*pallium*) with trimming (*penula*) of byse (*de byssis*) of the king's gift." This costume resembles that known to have been worn by physicians and apothecaries of the royal household in the fifteenth century.[23] The date of Joceus' death is unknown, but it may be presumed to have occurred by 1242.[24]

Bartholomew Spicer is referred to in 1249 in connexion with a house in Bread Street[25]: "Bartholomew son of Joseph (*Joscei*), Spicer (*speciarius*), had a house in Bread Street (*Bredstrate*) worth 2 marks. The present king gave the house in Bredstrate to Joseph the Spicer, Bartholomew's father, for his service." This was a favourite place of residence of spicers, being convenient for the great shopping centre and *Speciaria* of Chepe.

[17] For later study we have, in the reign of Edward III, Peter Montpellier, William de Stanes, Bartholomew Thomasin, Nicholas Thomasin, John Lucca, Coursus de Gangeland, Guy Lespicer and Guy de Bergh.
[18] *Pipe Roll* 9 John (1207), p. 147 and *Pipe Roll* 10 John (1208), p. 123.
[19] *CChR*, 16 Henry III (1231–2), p. 149, inspeximus and confirmation of an earlier charter.
[20] *Calendar of Liberate Rolls, 1226–40*, 246.
[21] *CLibR, 1226–40*, 254.
[22] *CLibR, 1226–40*, 264.
[23] C. J. S. Thompson in *The Mystery and Art of the Apothecary* (1929), p. 90, describes the fifteenth century costume as a green robe trimmed with miniver and a cap of miniver.
[24] *Munimenta Gildhallæ Londoniensis*, I *Liber Albus*, p. 107.
[25] *Calendar of Inquisitions, Miscellaneous*, Vol. I, No. 63, p. 19.

Bartholomew supplied the court with spicery, apparently on a larger scale than his father, and dealt in a wide range of commodities. For example, he was paid £93 17s. 0d. for silken cloth, almonds, rabbits (possibly skins), raisins and other wares bought of him by the king's chamberlain.[26] As we shall see, the king's personal spicer in 1238 was Richard Derkyn, and from about 1243 onwards Robert Montpellier. Bartholomew, although probably a more wealthy merchant than either Derkyn or Montpellier, had, as far as can be judged, little pharmaceutical knowledge and little personal contact with members of the royal family. He was a shipowner[27] and an importer of wine[28] but continued to deal in spicery, for in 1258 we note "To Bartholomew le Spicer £8 7s. 7d. for nutmegs, figs, raisins and cinnamon purchased from him for the king's use."[29] His activities can be traced to 1273.[30]

Richard Derkyn or Derekin was the king's spicer in 1238, his official position being indicated by the phrase *speciarius suus* (i.e. *regis*) in one of the two records found.[31]

Robert Montpellier is one of the few mediaeval pharmacists whose life can be reconstructed in any detail. References to the Montpelliers are fairly numerous from the second half of the thirteenth century onwards, but much of their genealogy remains to be worked out (see pp. 31, 34, 36). The name Montpellier and the fact that Robert undoubtedly possessed up-to-date pharmaceutical knowledge suggest that he probably received his pharmaceutical training in the town of Montpellier, which Roger Bacon speaks of at this time as a source of rare drugs and skilled apothecaries.[32] A number of facts make it probable that Robert Montpellier was first appointed spicer-apothecary to Henry III during the latter's residence in Gascony in 1242–3. His name first appears in a document which refers to the payment of 10 marks to Robert Montpellier, king's spicer (*speciarius noster*),[33] or to his wife, for his expenses

[26] *CLibR, 1245–51*, 236.
[27] *CCR, 1251*, 396.
[28] *CCR, 1254*, 253; *1255*, 76.
[29] F. Devon, *Issues of the Exchequer Henry III–Henry VI* (1837), p. 41.
[30] *CCR, 1273*, 54.
[31] *CCR, 1238*, 98. His name appears as a witness in 1241. In 1258 his son John had a house in the parish of St. Peter of Wodestrate near houses of Robert Montpellier (see below) and he also owned land in the parish of St. Pancras. John Derkyn was also an apothecary and his will *c.* 1273 was contested by his son, Richard (R. R. Sharpe, *Cal. Wills Court Hustings*, Vol. I, 13; E. Williams, *Early Holborn* (1927), Vol. II, Nos. 1746, 1795, 1799)
[32] R. R. Steele, editor (1920), *Opera hactenus inedita Rogeri Baconi, Fasc. V, Secretum Secretorum*, with glosses of Bacon, pp. 105–6. After mentioning that faithful apothecaries (*apothecarios fideles*) can compound a particular remedy, he continues: "et si excusent se quod res non inveniantur in Anglia, possunt in nundinis magnis Francie inveniri, vel in Montepessulano." See also L. Dulieu "Une famille d'épiciers-apothicaires montepellierains au XIIIe siècle," *Rev. Hist. Pharm.* (*Paris*), 1958, Sept., 402.
[33] *Rôles Gascons*, Edit. F. Michel, I (1885), 223, No. 1670. "Liberate pro Roberto de Monte Pessulano—Rex thesaurario et camerariis suis, salutem. Liberate de thesauro nostro dilecto nobis Roberto de Monte Pessulano, speciario nostro, vel uxori sue, decem marcas pro expensis suis, quas idem Robertus fecit in veniendo ad nos in Wasconiam. T.R., apud Burdegalem, xvi die januarii." This is on a membrane dated 27 Henry III, and it therefore belongs to 1243.

in coming to the king in Gascony.[34] Records of the immediately preceding years which refer to spices,[35] spiced wines[36] and medicines[37] supplied on the king's orders make no mention of Robert and, therefore, suggest that he probably came to Gascony from the south during the king's residence in Gascony in 1242–3. He was still in the royal service when the king returned to England in September 1243 and was paid 20 marks "for his expenses incurred in our service in Aquitaine."[38]

The preparation of spiced wines was an important duty of the mediaeval spicer-apothecary. They were doubtless prepared by some of the earlier spicers we have mentioned,[39] but Robert prepared them from at least 1245 to 1262, as is shown by the records summarised below:

Date and Reference	*To the Keeper of the King's Wines at*	*For Robert to Make:*	*Occasion for use.*
1245[40]	Westminster	Pigmentum	Contra Natalem
1247[41]	London	Pigmenta et alios potus preciosos	Instans festum Sancti Eadwardi
1249[42]	Winchester	Ad potus regis preciosos et delicatos	Not stated. Probably for Christmas
1251[43]	York	Ad garhiofilatum et ad claretum	Instans festum Nativitatis Dominice
1254[44]	Canterbury	Pigmentum, claretum, gariofilatum	Instans festum Natalis Domini
1254[45]	London—Westminster	Claretum, gariofilatum	Instans festum Sancti Eduardi
1255[46]	London	Claretum, gariofilatum et alios potus delicatos	Instans festum Sancti Eduardi
1256[47]	London	Gariofilatum	Cum rex et regina Scocie accessuri apud Wudestok'
1256[48]	London	Claretum	Instans festum Sancti Eduardi
1262[49]	Canterbury	Clarettum et pigmentum	Instans festum Natalis Domini

Although different in wording all the above writs follow the general pattern of a command to the Keeper of the King's Wines at a certain place to deliver so much wine to Robert for the purpose of making spiced drinks. It will be

[34] The king landed in Gascony in May 1242 and after the battle of Taillebourg on 20 July retired to Bordeaux. The Count of Toulouse and the King of Aragon (who was also Lord of Montpellier) were among those who visited Henry at Bordeaux during the winter of 1242–3. Henry made appointments from among the adherents of the Count of Toulouse (*Calendar of Patent Rolls, 1242*, 320), and, as all historians agree that this was a period of lavish spending and feasting, the appointment of a skilled spicer of wines would be in accordance with the king's needs.

[35] *CLibR, 1239*, 367; *1242*, 154.

[36] *CLibR, 1236*, 246.

[37] *CLibR, 1239*, 419.

[38] *Rôles Gascons*, editor F. Michel, I, 246, No. 1902.

[39] For example, *CLibR, 1236*, 246, does not mention Joseph the Spicer or Richard Derkyn, but refers to spiced wines, namely, one tun clary (*claré*) and the other cloved (*girofré*).

[40] *CCR, 1245*, 372.

[41] *CCR, 1247*, 20.

[42] *CCR, 1249*, 242.

[43] *CCR, 1251*, 10.

[44] *CCR, 1254*, 12.

[45] *CCR, 1254*, 18.

[46] *CCR, 1255*, 137.

[47] *CCR, 1256*, 331.

[48] *CCR, 1256*, 363.

[49] *CCR, 1262*, 168.

noted that only in two years is there more than one record, and the occasion for use is almost invariably stated. It would seem that their use was reserved for special occasions, or that some orders were not made the subject of special writs. The wines for Christmas were ordered between 18 November and 8 December, thus allowing time for their preparation and for Robert to arrive at court. Robert was normally in London, but in 1251 went to York and in 1262 to Canterbury to prepare these wines. The spices used were expensive, for example cloves at about 10s. to 12s. a pound, but the king was extravagant[50] and when the writs ordered "piments and other precious drinks" (*pigmenta et alios potus preciosos*) or "precious and delicate drinks for the king" (*potus regis preciosos et delicatos*) cost was a secondary consideration.

The following writ, which I give in full, is typical, but it is of particular interest because the occasion was that of the great gathering at York for Christmas 1251 where, on 26 December, Henry III's daughter Margaret was married to Alexander III of Scotland. The order is worded as follows:

> "The King commands the keeper of his wines at York to deliver of the better sort which are in his custody to Robert Montpellier two casks (*dolia*) of white wine to make cloved wine (*ad garhiofilatum*) and one cask of red wine to make clare (*ad claretum*) thereof for the king's use against the coming Christmas; and Robert is commanded to hasten to York to make the said cloved wine and clare as he has been wont in past years."

The pharmaceutical preparations made by Robert are illustrated by documents A and B printed in Appendix I, but one or two points may be made here. The term electuary had a very general meaning and is so used in the writ "Deliver to Robert de Monte Pessulano £20 15s. 10d. for electuaries bought for the king, the queen and their children."[51] Although some electuaries contained potent substances, many were more of the nature of sweetmeats and contained such things as ginger, almonds, pine kernels, honey or sugar. Sugar was increasingly used, and candied fruits and preparations of the gingerbread, nougat and barley-sugar (*penidius*) types were noted products of Montpellier.[52] Doubtless Robert was skilled in the preparation of tasty electuaries and confections and he was probably sufficiently human to make special efforts to please the royal children with his products. Whether for this

[50] Cf. Powicke, F. M., *King Henry III and the Lord Edward* (1953), I, 303.

[51] *CLibR, 1246*, 56. The children were Edward aged seven, Margaret aged six, Beatrice aged four and Edmund about 18 months.

[52] *Les Oeuvres de Guiot de Provins*, editor John Orr (1915), lines 2613–2620:

S'il revienent de Monpallier
lor laituaire sont molt chier;
lors dient il, ce m'est a vis,
qu'il ont gingebret et pliris,
diadragagant et roset,
penidium et violet—
duo dyarodo julii
ont il maint prodomme menti!

or some other reason, Margaret, five years after her marriage to Alexander III but when she was still only fifteen, remembered Robert and intervened on his behalf to obtain the following pardon: "Pardon at the instance of the king's daughter Margaret, Queen of Scotland, to Robert de Monte Pessulano, Philip de Gloucester and Peter de Stanes, citizens of London, for the death of Robert de Langele."[53]

As early as 1247[54] Robert held a royal wardship, which gave him temporary possession of an estate at Pinxton (*Penekeston*) on the borders of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, and a later Montpellier, apparently Robert's grandson, is associated with this area.[55] Robert's main properties were, however, in London, where he had a house and business premises for some thirty years. His residence was in Milk Street (*Milkstrate*), which runs from the north side of Cheapside from a point near the church of St. Mary le Bow, to which in his will he left wax for candles. These and other properties are mentioned in the following documents:

1246.[56] "Grant to Robert de Monte Pessulano, citizen of London, his heirs and assigns of all the seld with shops in the Chepe of London, lying between the seld of the nuns of Haliwell on the west and the seld of Ralph Eshwy, mercer, on the east, which seld and shops were formerly of John Herlizun and were given to the said Robert by Robert the chaplain, keeper of the house of the converts, and the said converts, to whom the king had given it, to be held by rendering yearly 60s. to the said keeper and converts."

1259.[57] "Grant by Thomas de Castello, son of Hamon de Castello to *John Derkin, son of Richard Derkin*, of a capital messuage in the parish of S. Peter of Wodestrate, between houses formerly of John de Cudres on the south, and a house of the said Thomas on the north, extending 'in fronte' from the highway on the west to a house formerly of John de Cudres *and houses of Robert de Monte Pessulano* on the east."

1265.[58] ". . . the stalls of Robert de Mumpelers in Westchepe."

[53] *CPR, 1256*, 498. A similar but not identical entry in C. Roberts, *Excerpta e Rotulis Finium* (1836), II, 239. I have found nothing about Robert de Langele or the circumstances of his death. It is possible that Robert Montpellier's companions were both apothecaries, since a Philip the Apothecary of Gloucester is again mentioned with Robert Montpellier (document B); and Peter de Stanes may have been of the same family and occupation as the William de Stanes who was apothecary to Edward III.

[54] The writ (*CCR, 1247*, 531) refers to land which had belonged to Ralph le Poer. Ralph le Poer had held the manor of Pinxton (J. Tilley, *Old Derbyshire* (1899), III, 262) and was alive up to 1242–3 (*Liber Feodorum*, II, 894, 996).

[55] Robert's son Henry, also an apothecary, was in this area with Edward I in 1290 (*CCR, 1290*, 108). A Thomas Montpellier was related to William de Wakebrugge who had land in the Pinxton area at Crich (*Cruche*), Wakebridge (*Wakebrugge*), Tansley (*Tannesleie*), etc. (*CPR, 1350*, 543). It seems therefore that Thomas was the grandson of Robert Montpellier and that he married a daughter of William Wakebridge. See also note 104.

[56] *CChR, 1246*, 292.

[57] E. Williams, *Early Holborn and the Legal Quarter of London* (1927), No. 1797 (from Hustings Rolls 2, No. 18).

[58] *CPR, 1265*, 465.

*c.*1278–9.[59] "Mounpeillers (Robert de).—Bequest of quitrent for maintenance of wax, to wit 'torkes' in the Church of St. Mary le Bow, charged on a shop in the Spicery (*Spicieria*) of Westchepe. To Richard his son his capital messuage in Milkstrate, saving to Floria his wife her free bench; also a shop in Westchepe to the same for the maintenance of his mother. To Henry his son quitrent of shop and solar occupied by the Skinners. To Nicholas his son quitrent of shop and solar occupied by the Tailors; and to Reginald his son rents charged on the said shop and solar, as also on a shop bequeathed to the aforesaid Richard."

It has already been noted that in 1246 Robert was supplying electuaries for the royal household. He would therefore need an "apotheca,"[60] and the "seld"[61] granted him in that year would give the necessary storage space for drugs and apparatus as well as facilities for manufacture and for retail sales, the latter being also provided for by the stalls mentioned in 1265. It would therefore seem that there was at least one apothecary's shop in London in 1246, a century earlier than the date usually given.[62]

We must now consider Robert's position during the disturbed years in which the differences between Henry III and the baronial opposition came to a head. In 1261–2, when Thomas FitzThomas was mayor of London, Robert Montpellier was one of the two sheriffs.[63] If his term of office was a normal one it ended in October 1262. During Henry III's visit to France in this year, a serious epidemic arose in Paris and the king's relations with Earl Simon further deteriorated. Powicke[64] writes:

> "By this time Henry had returned to England, for here also dissension had revived. In September a serious epidemic had spread in Paris. The king's household was decimated, Henry himself, his son Edmund, and John Mansel were seriously ill. Rumours ran in England that he had died. Although he was able by the end of the month to take little walks he was still far from well when the news from England brought him home. He had to spend Christmas quietly at Canterbury and forego the usual festivities at Westminster."

[59] *Cal. Wills Court of Hustings*, edited R. R. Sharpe (1889), Vol. I, 38.

[60] In antiquity a store place for wine, but from Galen onwards the word was gradually acquiring a pharmaceutical meaning as a place where spicery, and particularly drugs, were stored and sold. Robert's seld in Chepe was in the area known as the Speciaria, but Oxford apparently differentiated still further and had both a Speciaria and an Apothecaria (R. T. Gunther, *Early Science in Oxford*, I (1923), 3.

[61] Riley, H. T., *Memorials of London Life 1276–1419* (1868), Introduction, p. xviii, writes: "There seems every reason to conclude, from various passages in the City books, that the selds were extensive warehouses, very similar probably to the eastern bazaars, with numerous rooms in them fitted with aumbries or cupboards, chests and locks, and let to various tenents; while in some instances a mere vacant patch of ground (*placea*) within the seld is mentioned as being let."

[62] Thus E. Kremers and G. Urdang, *History of Pharmacy* (1951), p. 519, give the first recorded apothecaries shop as in 1345.

[63] I am following *Cronica Maiorum et Vicecomitum Londoniarum*, Camden Society (1846), which gives "MCCLXII in fine anni regni regis XLVI" (1261–2). *Monumenta Franciscana* II, 148, gives XLV (1260–1) and *Catalogue of Ancient Deeds*, II, Nos. 2394 and A.2616 gave 1262–3. Two charters relating to property of St. Bartholomew's Hospital give Robert as Sheriff in 1262 (see N. Moore's *History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital* (1918), I, 466–7).

[64] Powicke, Sir M., *The Thirteenth Century 1216–1307* (1953), pp. 170–1.

During the royal illness we might have expected Robert to be called to France, but the king would not lack good medical attention there and it has already been seen that Robert received an order, dated at Compiègne (Oise) on 4 December, to join the court at Canterbury.[65]

In the ensuing years, Robert's position as a leading citizen of London and as a man with many friends in both parties must have been a very worrying one. In the spring of 1263 London was in a ferment, and the king and queen took refuge in the Tower. The king accepted Montfort's terms on 16 July and the latter then entered and took control of the city. Unrest continued and there was a reaction in favour of the king, but the tide again flowed against him. It seems probable that Robert was in the city during this time of upset and that it was at this period that a patent he had received in 1252,[66] exempting him from tallage for life, was destroyed.[67]

Document B consists of nine bills for the supply of drugs. With the exception of the third, which mentions Queen Eleanor, they were presumably ordered for the king. The first seven bills are for drugs supplied by Robert Montpellier during the period 6 January to 14 April 1265. At this time the king and the Lord Edward were virtually captives. In April, Montfort, taking the king and the Lord Edward with him, advanced on Gloucester and entered it without resistance, and it will be noted that the eighth bill is one for Philip the Apothecary of Gloucester and is dated 3 May. Montfort then made Hereford his headquarters, and it was from this neighbourhood that Edward made his escape on 28 May. The final bill is one for Reginald the Apothecary of Hereford and, being dated 23 May, was issued only a few days before Edward's escape. The medicines indicate that the king was already unwell, a poor prelude to his narrow escape at Evesham after which he was "tired, wounded and bewildered."[68]

In the reckoning which followed the battle of Evesham Robert Montpellier, like many other Londoners, was deprived of his London properties, but the fact that they were restored to him shortly afterwards indicates that his offences,

[65] *CCR, 1261–4*, 168. "Pro rege.—Mandatum est Roberto de Muntpeler' civi Londoniensi quod sit apud Cantuariam per biduum vel triduum ante instantem festum Natalis Domini et quod secum adducat ea que noverit necessaria ad clarettum et pigmentum facienda sicut alias ea facere consueverat. Et hoc nullatenus omittat. Teste rege apud Compend' iiii die Decemberis."

[66] *CPR 1252*, 162. "Oct. 29th, Windsor. Exemption for life of Robert de Monte Pessulano, king's sergeant, from being tallaged in any tallage imposed on the city of London at more than half a mark. By K."

[67] *CPR, 1267*, 86. "July 10th, 1267, St. Paul's London. Whereas heretofore, by letters patent, the king granted to Robert de Monte Pessulano, citizen of London, exemption for life from all tallages in the city of London *and the said letters were taken from him by occasion of the disturbance had in the realm and broken*; the king grants that he be quit for life in the form of the said grant."

[68] Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century*, p. 203.

if any, had not been serious.[69] In 1266 he was appointed one of the keepers and protectors of the Jews,[70] and in the following year, as already mentioned, the destroyed letters patent exempting him from tallage were replaced. His house in London is again mentioned in 1270.[71]

Robert, like Henry III, was now getting old, and he was probably leaving his affairs more and more in the hands of his sons, of whom two became apothecaries. The king did not forget his old servant, and in 1271, the year before his own death, made him a present of a cask of good wine.[72] Robert seems to have survived the king by some six or seven years. Under Edward I Robert Montpellier is mentioned in the wardrobe accounts of Prince Henry[73]. The enquiries instituted by the new king brought many complaints against Robert and in 1276 he was in Newgate prison although the king's mother, Queen Eleanor, was "frequently and strongly" requesting his delivery on finding mainpernors. Richard, Robert's eldest son, was also imprisoned at Newgate charged with offences against certain jews, but his release was ordered in June 1277[74]. Robert's will, previously quoted, although undated, is placed among those of 1278–9. Following the usual mediaeval custom, it is probable that this will was made only shortly before his death.

Richard and Henry Montpellier were two of the four sons of Robert Montpellier, as is shown by his will, which has already been quoted. Both were apothecaries. Tout[75] in his account of the wardrobe staff of Edward I mentions Henry, but had obviously no knowledge of his origin for he writes "another sub-usher was Henry Montpellier" and he refers to him as one of the few foreign wardrobe clerks at this time. As Henry's father had been in England since 1243 and he himself, like the other sons, were almost certainly

[69] *CPR, 1265*, 464. "Oct. 16th, 1265, Westminster." "Grant to Peter de Chauvent and his heirs of the houses in the city of London late of Robert de Montpelers, *sometime citizen of London*, the king's enemy." *CPR, 1265*, 465. "Oct. 16th, 1265, Westminster." "Grant to Peter de Chaumpvent of 5 marks of yearly rent in Westchepe in the said city late of Thomas de Exeporte sometime citizen of London, the king's enemy, which the said Thomas used to receive from the stalls of Robert de Munpelers in Westchepe; to hold by the due and accustomed service." Peter Chauvent was Steward of the King's Household from 1286 to 1292. Tout, *Chapters*, VI, 41. *CPR, 1265*, 517. "Dec. 5th, Westminster." "Confirmation to Robert de Mounpelers, citizens of London, of a grant made to him by Peter de Chaumpvent of certain houses in the city; as the said Robert together with all others of the said City, has submitted himself to the will and ordinance of the king touching all the trespasses and forfeitures which they are alleged to have committed against him."

[70] *CPR, 1266*, 577.

[71] *CCR, 1270*, 247.

[72] *CCR, 1271*, 317.

[73] Hilda Johnson, *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library*, vii, 384–420 (see pp. 401 and 412). For example, "pro expensis .ii. equorum et vadiis .i. garcionis Roberti de Montepess' venientis ad mandatum domini usque Gildeford' per .i. noctem ixd."

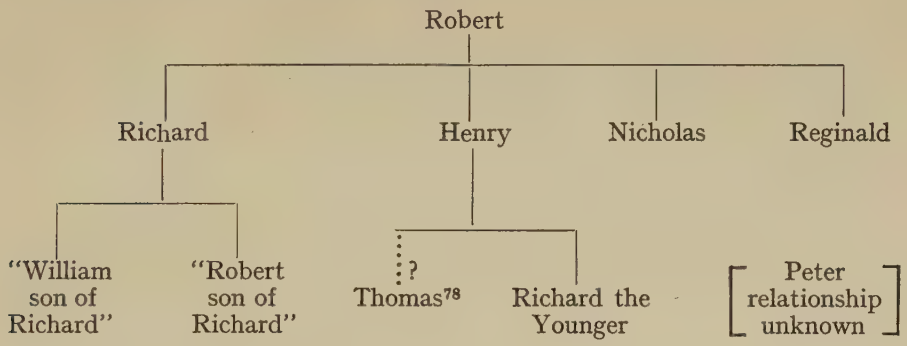
[74] *Rot. Hund.*, Vol. I, 404, 415, 416, 419, 428; *CCR*, 1276, 272; *CCR*, 1277, 397.

[75] T. F. Tout, *Chapters*, II, 23, "There were seldom much more than half-a-dozen real wardrobe clerks at once, so that even the least important of them was something of a personage. It will not, therefore, be quite useless to put together a few more names of Edwardian wardrobe clerks, *though little can be said about them.* Such were Mr. Stephen of St. George, who, with Henry of Montpellier, were among the few instances of *foreign* wardrobe clerks at this time."

born in England, he can hardly be called foreign. Thompson[76] mentions that in 1290 Henry was apothecary to Queen Eleanor of Castile, but he makes a wild guess at his origin.

The activities of both brothers can be followed throughout the whole reign of Edward I. Both their careers resemble that of their father, the elder being more closely associated with the commerce of the City of London and his brother following the numerous journeyings of the royal household. Nicholas, the third son mentioned in Robert Montpellier's will, appears from the sole record we have of him to have been similarly occupied,[77] but no trace of the fourth son, Reginald, has been discovered.

Most of the very numerous references to Richard Montpellier after 1306 relate to another member of the family who in 1308 is called "Richard de Monte Pessulano the Younger." In the following family tree Peter Montpellier, the court apothecary of the time of Edward II, cannot be placed, although it is not unlikely that he was a grandson of the first Robert.



During his father's lifetime, Richard Montpellier is mentioned in connection with land in Wiltshire.[79] Both Richard and Henry were involved in the war in Wales which began on 21 March 1282. In this month Richard was in London buying spicery, presumably for his own business.[80] In April the king sent out summonses to his vassals, and the army gradually assembled at Chester to move on Flint and Rhuddlan in June and July, the main offensive operations being conducted from Rhuddlan in August and resulting in the occupation of Anglesey in September.[81] A roll of expenses at Rhuddlan castle

[76] C. J. S. Thompson, *The Mystery and Art of the Apothecary* (1929), p. 89. "He had probably been sent to England in the entourage of the queen."

[77] A. H. Thomas, *Cal. of Early Mayors of Court Rolls of the City of London, 1298–1307* (1924), p. 21, where Nicholas is described as king's valet in 1298. He was robbed whilst crossing from Sandwich to Flanders.

[78] *CPR, 1308*, 45 and see note 104.

[79] *Rot. Hund.*, Vol. II, 266.

[80] *London Letter Book* A, 48. Although both apothecaries and purveyors to the household bought spicery at London and at fairs this looks like a private purchase rather than one for the household.

[81] F. M. Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century*, 422–7.

contains the entry "To Henry de Montepess' for the carriage of wax and almonds from Chester to Rothelan."[82] Another entry refers to his brother "for medicines taken of Richard de Montepess' for the king's use."[83] Close to the latter entry is a reference to "the day of the queen's uprising," and there is little doubt that these medicines were for Queen Eleanor, who in August gave birth to her sixth daughter, referred to in this roll as Elizabeth although now more often known as Isabelle. References are also made to oxysaccharum and other medicines bought for the use of the queen.[84] A writ dated from Denbigh on 25 October reads, "Richard de Munpelers has letters of protection and (safe) conduct lasting until Easter in taking victuals to the army of Wales, with provision that he shall not take them to the king's enemies."[85] The death of Llywelyn on 11 December and the capture of his brother, David, in the following June brought hostilities to an end, although the king remained in Wales where in April 1284 the future Edward II was born. By March 1283 Richard Montpellier had returned to London, where we find him buying a horse,[86] and in 1284 buying spicery,[87] and being mentioned specifically as an apothecary.[88] His brother Henry, who was court apothecary in 1290 may already have occupied this position, in which case he probably accompanied the queen and the new princess to Macclesfield in September 1282[89] and may have been with the Queen at Caernarvon in 1284 for the birth of the first Prince of Wales. In January 1286 Richard acknowledged in London two debts for 5½ marks and 46s. respectively[90] and in April following he and his brother received letters of protection as persons about to go overseas with the king.[91] Edward was in Paris and Gascony from May 1286 to August 1289, and it seems probable, from a lack of entries regarding the Montpelliers in the London records, that both were abroad with the king for the whole of these three years. From the time of their return to England it is convenient to consider each separately.

Richard Montpellier was in London in 1292.[92] In the same year Richard's

[82] *Archaeologia XVI*, 45 and 70. "Text & Translation of Roll of Expenses at Rhuddlan Castle in 1281 and 1282." The abbreviation Montepess' has been wrongly extended by the author of this paper to "Montepesson"; it should obviously be "Montepessulano" or "Montpellier."

[83] *Ibid.*, 48 and 74. The abbreviation r^e is translated as "king" but from the context "regine" was probably intended by the scribe.

[84] *Ibid.*, 48 and 75.

[85] *Cal. Welsh Rolls* (*Chancery*), 243.

[86] *London Letter Book A*, 67.

[87] *London Letter Book A*, 80.

[88] *London Letter Book A*, 88. "Thursday after the Feast of St. Gregory came Richard de Munpeyles *apothecary*, to the Guildhall and acknowledged himself bound to Reymund de Batayle and his company in the sum of £7 5s. for spices (*pro speciebus*) to be paid in London at Midsummer or at St. Botolph's Fair."

[89] *Archaeologia XVI*, 46 and 71.

[90] *Cal. Letter Books A*, 93.

[91] *CPR, 1286*, 239–40.

[92] *Letter Book A*, 139. A reference to a Richard de Garderobe and Henry the apothecary may also refer to the Montpellier brothers, *ibid.*, 201.

son Robert was presented to the Church of Oxenede.[93] In 1298 Richard was owed £10 by Reymund de Burdeaus and himself owed 6 marks.[94] Confirmation of the fact that Richard was a member of the wardrobe staff is found in the earliest surviving wardrobe account, that of 1299–1300, which refers to electuaries supplied by him.[95] A debt of 26 marks to a fishmonger is recorded for 1301,[96] and one of 10 marks in 1302.[97] In 1304 another son, William, is found in the royal service.[98]

Moorman in his paper entitled "Edward I at Lanercost Priory in 1306–7"[99] has drawn attention to the medicines supplied during the king's last illness and to the substances (aloes, incense, myrrh and musk) held in readiness for his embalming. The activities of Richard Montpellier about this time are shown in documents C and D. That Richard died early in the following reign is indicated by the petition from his wife (document E)[100] for the payment of a sum of money owed for spices which is very similar in amount to the sum charged by Richard for the drugs supplied to Edward I (document D).

Henry Montpellier. We now turn to the last three months in the life of Queen Eleanor, who died at Harby in Nottinghamshire on 28 November 1290, at which period Tout[101] describes Henry as *sub-ostarius*. In September the king had arrived from the south and after spending two days in Nottingham proceeded to Newstead Priory and Rufford Abbey.[102] It appears that Queen Eleanor was already ill, for on 28 October Henry Montpellier was paid 1 mark for syrup and other medicines bought at Lincoln for the queen's use.[103] The king had summoned a Parliament to meet at Clipston in November and except for a journey he made to Macclesfield, in which presumably the queen did not

[93] *CPR, 1292*, 467. "Presentation of Robert son of Richard de Monte Pessulano to the Church of Oxenede, in the diocese of Norwich."

[94] *Letter Book B*, 67; *CCR, 1298*, 194.

[95] *Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulatoris Garderobae*, published by Society of Antiquaries in 1787, p. 355: "factura diversorum electuariorum per Ricardum de Pessulano" (obviously our Montpellier, although the Monte is omitted).

[96] *Letter Book B*, 105.

[97] *CCR, 1302*, 596.

[98] *CCR, 1304*, 262. "William son of Richard de Mounpellers" who was excused attendance at an assize as he was "on the king's service on that day."

[99] J. R. H. Moorman, *E.H.R.*, 1952, 67, 161–74.

[100] Document E is undated although opinion is in favour of early Ed. II. An entry in *Cal. Letter Books C*, 238, which the editor dates as 6 or 7 Ed. II, refers to a shop which was probably the one which belonged to Robert Montpellier senior. "Of a certain shop of Richard de Mounpelers in the Spicery (*Speciaria*) of the Chepe of London for quitrent, by the year for the maintenance of a certain chantry in St. Paul's for the soul of Henry de Gildeford, 20s." It seems impossible to decide whether the Richard mentioned is the Richard we are considering or his brother's son, "Richard the younger." The reference to Richard Montpellier's late apprentice (note 12) is somewhat earlier, 3 Ed. II. The rent of 20s. indicates a large shop, as most other rents recorded are about 13s. 4d.

[101] Tout, *Chapter*, II, 23, quoting *Chanc. Misc.*, 4/5, m. 9 (18 Ed. I).

[102] The royal iters and events of this period are described by J. Hunter, *Archaeologia*, XXIX, 170, and by W. Stevenson, *Trans. Thoroton Soc.*, 1899, 3–15.

[103] 28 October is the date given in the wardrobe book of 18 Ed. I (C 47/4/5, f. 13), but Hunter (*op. cit.*) and Stevenson (*op. cit.*) give apparently incorrect dates of 18 October and 18 September respectively. Who in Lincoln supplied these medicines is not known, but there was an Alan the Spicer in the Bail as early as 1248 (J. W. F. Hill, *Medieval Lincoln* (1948), p. 376).

join, he remained in the area of Clipston until 11 November. There is confirmatory evidence of the presence of Henry Montpellier since at Clipstone on 7 November he and certain local men stood surety for Richard de Ashbourne who was required to appear before the king.[104] Henry Montpellier himself seems to have had local connections.[105] On 12 November the queen was at Rufford, where the surroundings were probably quieter than at Clipston, and shortly afterwards she began an intended slow journey towards Lincoln. She got no further than Harby. Here the king joined her on 20 November and remained until her death on 28 November. One can only guess at the activities of her apothecary during these anxious weeks, but it seems probable that he would be one of those responsible for embalming her body at Lincoln.[106]

Although Tout knew little of Henry's family background, he did appreciate that his position as wardrobe clerk and under-usher (*sub-ostarius*) was an important one. Among his fellow wardrobe clerks were the king's physician and surgeon. His active service seemingly had ended by 18 March 1303,[107] when the king requested the Abbot and Convent of Westminster, "in consideration of the service which Henry de Monte Pessulano, king's sergeant, has from his earliest years rendered in the king's household," to admit him, and a horse and groom into their house, and to give him necessary food and clothing for life. It was suggested that this corrody be granted in letters sealed with the seal of the Chapter. In any case, they were to answer the letter of request. Henry

[104] *CCR, 1290,* 108, mentions also Ralph of Annesley, Geoffrey of Warsope and John of Ashbourne.

[105] In addition to the wardship held by Richard's father in 1247 at Pinxton (note 54), I suggest that Henry had a son Thomas who married into the Derbyshire family of Wakebridge. When this Thomas Montpellier went abroad he appointed as attorneys at different times: (*a*) Henry's son Richard Montpellier (the younger) (*CPR, 1322,* 127), (*b*) Roger de Wyk who I suggest may have been either one of the Wakebridges of the Crich area or one of the Wakes of Chesterfield (*CPR, 1307,* 18; *1309,* 188) and (*c*) Robert Pouer (*CPR, 1319,* 388) whose name is that of the family who held the manor of Pinxton to *c.* 1242 (note 54). Similarly, Richard Montpellier appointed as his attorney a William of Chesterfield (*CPR, 1326,* 300). When William Wakebridge founded a chantry at Crich he mentions Thomas Montpellier in his list of children, ancestors and heirs (*CPR, 1350,* 543) and it is known that Sir William Wakebridge lost almost all his relations through the plague (*V.C.H., Derbyshire,* Vol. II, 167).

Many records survive relating to Thomas Montpellier who spent most of his life in Ireland. He was a king's clerk by 1311 (*CPR, 1311,* 392), Chancellor of the Exchequer of Dublin (*CPR, 1336,* 301), and dead by 1349 (*Cal. Papal Registers, Papal Letters,* III, 290).

[106] The embalming was done at the Gilbertine Priory of St. Catherine, which stood just outside the city gates. Stevenson (*Trans. Thoroton Soc.,* 1899, p. 11) says "there the pious hands of the brothers and sisters embalmed the body." Documentary evidence for this statement is not given and it would seem more likely that the task was undertaken by members of her medical staff. Her heart was removed to be deposited in London in the Church of the Black Friars. What else was removed before the embalming was buried beside the High Altar of Lincoln Cathedral. The materials used for embalming were presumably similar to those mentioned on p. 33. This duty of embalming royalty was one for which a later royal apothecary had to press for payment: *Cal. State Papers,* 1633, 30 November: "Petition of Lewis le Myre, apothecary in ordinary to the King and royal children, to the King. Notwithstanding the King's directions so often reiterated for petitioner's satisfaction for embalming the king's mother, and the arrears of his diet and for attendance on the royal children, yet he has not nor can receive one penny, to his utter undoing."

[107] *CPR, 1303,* 188.

lived until about 1312. He apparently ended his days, however, not at Westminster but at Canterbury,[108] and the writ appointing his son Richard to the king's wardrobe is, perhaps significantly, dated Canterbury.[109]

The evidence available suggests that in the fourteenth century there were three apothecaries named Peter in the royal service, namely, a Peter de Paris who was apothecary to Queen Margaret (*c.* 1299–1303), a Peter Montpellier (temp. Edward I and Edward II) and another Peter Montpellier (temp. Edward II and Edward III). My division of the Peter Montpelliers into a senior and a junior seems justified by the fact that one was an apothecary in 1299 and the other acting as apothecary to Edward III as late as 1360.

Peter de Paris is, I believe, the man referred to in 1299 as "Petro apothecario regine" and as "Perroto apothecario regine."[110] Queen Margaret, daughter of Philip IV of France, married Edward I in September 1299. She was then 20 and he over 60 years of age. Whilst Peter was a member of her staff she gave birth in June 1300 to her first son, Thomas, at Cawood Castle in Yorkshire. The following year she came south and after visiting Hailes, near Gloucester, gave birth to her second son, Edmund, at Woodstock on 5 August 1301. Document F refers to part of this journey from Lincoln to Hailes, and covers the period 12 February to 23 March 1301. Those named include Peter the Spicer, obviously our Peter, Lord Hugh de Vere, Sir John Godley, John Courteney and Sir William Melton. Later in the same year a debt is acknowledged to "Peter de Paris, Spicer of our Lady the Queen."[111] A London record of 1303 mentions Master Peter de Paris as apothecary to the Queen of England.[112] Nothing else is known of this apothecary, but he may

[108] *CCR, 1312*, 451. "To the Abbott and Convent of St. Augustine, Canterbury. Request that they will grant to the king's yeoman Nicholas de Rency, who has long served the king, such maintenance for life as Henry de Monte Pessulano deceased had for life at the late king's request, and that they will make him letters patent of the grant of the same. By K. on the information of R. de Northburgh."

[109] *CPR, 1308*, 45. "January 30th, Canterbury. Appointment of Richard de Monte Pessulano the younger and Stephen de Abyndon to be purveyors for the king's wardrobe."

[110] *The Liber Quotidianus Contrarotulatoris Garderobae*, of 28 Ed. I (Society of Antiquaries, 1787), mentions, p. 58: "Petro apotecario regine pro nucibus, piris, pipere, ficubus et aliis fructibus et speciebus diversis" and p. 63: "Perroto apothecario regine pro electuariis diversiis, pomisgranatis et aliis rebus medicinalibus." Also mentioned are Richardus de (Monte) Pessulano, p. 355; Johannes, fructuarius regine, p. 58; Master John de Kenle, phisicus regis, p. 327; Philippus de Belvaco, cirurgicus regis, p. 327; and Nicholas de Gotham, fructuarius Londiniensis. The latter was the king's fruiterer (Tout, *Chapters*, IV, 443), who was a neighbour of the London Montpelliers, having a house in Breadstreet (N. Moore, *History of St. Bartholomew's Hospital*, I, 437). The close connexion between apothecary and fruiterer will be noted, both supplying fruit and nuts but only the former medicines.

[111] A. H. Thomas, *Cal. Early Mayor's Court Rolls* (1924), p. 115. In July 1301 a taverner acknowledged a debt of 20s. to "Peter de Paris, Spicer of our Lady the Queen."

[112] *London Letter Book C*, 136. On 25 November 1303 "came John de Sellingge, apothecary, before the Mayor, Alderman and Sheriffs, and acknowledged the receipt of a certain box which had been deposited with John le Benere as security for the payment of a sum of 60 marks to Master Peter de Paris, apothecary to the Queen of England by the Commonalty of Gernemue (Yarmouth)." The Sellingge here mentioned was in 1 Ed. II paid 50 marks for purchases made for the king when Prince of Wales (F. Devon, *Issues of the Exchequer* (1837), 123), whilst John le Benere was warden of London Bridge in 1304 and an alderman (*Letter Book B*, 216, 237).

have later transferred to the household of Queen Isabella and have died in Paris about 1314.[113]

Peter Montpellier I. In January 1299 Peter de Montpellier, *ypothecarius*, acknowledged a debt of 100s. to Sir Richard de Gravesend, Bishop of London.[114] About a month later he acknowledged a debt of 9s. to Nicholas Pycoc.[115] He does not appear on the wardrobe counter-roll for this year.[110] In document G Peter Montpellier, described as apothecary of London, goes in January 1303 to Sandwich with a royal clerk to select and buy fruit for the wardrobe of the Prince of Wales from ships lying there. Later in the year the Prince accompanied his father's expedition to Scotland and in his household roll is the entry: "Peter of Montpellier, apothecary, sent from London to Roxburgh with electuaries, spices, wax, etc.; expenses between 28 April and 12 May when he arrived, 15 days at 9d. per diem, 11s. 3d.; also his own and his servants' expenses for making electuaries and medicines during the war from 13 May till 20 November, 191 days at 4½d. a day only, as he "commoned" in hall, 71s. 7½d."[116] The king, queen and Prince of Wales were all in Scotland at this time. Since Henry Montpellier retired in 1303 and his brother Richard died *c.* 1307, it seems safe to assume that Peter was apothecary to Edward II from the beginning of his reign. Tout[117] refers to him as Isabella's apothecary and notes that he dyed wax red for making the queen's seal. Isabella had, for some years at least, her own apothecary, Odinet (see below). In 1310 Peter was with the king in Scotland (document H). When Edward invaded Scotland in this year he reached Roxborough on 20 September. Peter was at Wooler, south of Berwick, on 14 September, when a payment of £10 was made by his hands. His companion, Elias de Writtle, arrived in Roxborough on 18 September. On 31 January following there is a note that Peter made an electuary at Bolton. About this time Queen Isabella came to Berwick and document I shows the fruit bought for her by her fruiterer William of Writtle. A family of Montpelliers had lived at Writtle from the time of Henry III and further research may show that they were related to our court apothecaries of the same name.[118]

[113] *CCR, 1314*, 204. "To the abbot of St. Denis in France, and the convent of the same. Request that they will grant to Philip de Courcy, yeoman of the household of Isabella, queen of England, such estate or maintenance in their house for his lifetime as Peter le Spicer, deceased, had in the same at the king's request, certifying the king by the bearer hereof of their proceedings."

[114] *London Letter Book B*, 84.

[115] *Ibid.*, 102.

[116] *Cal. Docs. Scotland*, II, No. 1413, p. 368. 20 November 1303 is the day on which the roll ends. Tout (*Chapters*, V, 242), speaking of the household of Queen Isabella, notes that the apothecary, Peter Montpellier, had been at work in her husband's household as early as 1303 and cites *E.A.*, 363/18, m. 4d.

[117] Tout, *Chapters*, V, 285, who cites *Cotton MS. Nero C*, viii, f. 136.

[118] A study embracing all the Montpelliers is a task of some magnitude. Members of the family are found in Kent (Erith, Bromley and Canterbury), in Essex (Writtle, Woodham Ferrers, Hadleigh, Hintlesham and Elmstead Market), in Suffolk, Cambridgeshire, Yorkshire (Scarborough), Wiltshire and Derbyshire. Confining ourselves to Essex, there is an ancient house at Elmstead Market still known as "Mumples Hall," and a few miles

PETER MONTPELLIER II. Between 1310 and 1318 there is no mention of a Peter Montpellier and in 1313 Odinet was apothecary to the queen. It is assumed that the following details refer to a second Peter Montpellier. Bannockburn in 1314 was followed by the capture of Berwick in April 1318 and in June of the latter year was issued a "writ of aid, for one year, for Peter de Monte Pessulano, king's sergeant, whom the king is sending to make purveyance for the spicery.[119] Similar writs were issued in 1321 and 1324.[120] Five years later, at the beginning of the reign of Edward III, Master Peter de Mountpellers is named as the king's apothecary[121] and he was apparently still serving in this capacity in 1360.[122] I have strayed beyond the intended limits of this article but I hope to consider this man in more detail when I have made a study of the apothecaries of Edward III.

ODINET THE APOTHECARY or ODINET SPICER. After Queen Isabella had given birth to her first child, Edward, in November 1312, she and the king visited France. Odinet the Apothecary may have been appointed during this visit, since he seems to have been a Frenchman. Documents J and K refer to drugs he supplied to the queen when she was ill in November and December 1313. Of particular note among the items supplied are human milk (*pour let de femmes a plusour fois xxd*) on 24 November, and something resembling brandy (*aqua vite iiis*) on 26 December.

The following petition dates approximately 20 May 1316: "Petition by

[119] *CPR, 1318,* 157.
[120] *CPR, 1321,* 22; *CPR, 1324,* 20.
[121] *CCR, 1329,* 432–3. He was at Hoxne with Master Pancius de Controne, the king's physician. G. E. Gask in *The Medical Staff of Edward III,* reprinted (1957) in *Sidelights on the History of Medicine,* devotes a full page to Pancius but makes no mention of Peter.
[122] J. Freind, *History of Physic* (2nd edition, 1727), Vol. II, p. 292, who gives as his authority a wardrobe account of 32 Ed. III.

---

from Chelmsford and in the parish of Writtle a farm known as "Montpellier Farm." This farm, which still possesses part of its original moat, is owned by Wadham College, Oxford, which possesses a large number of charters relating to the Montpelliers of Writtle *c.* 1260–1372. These were transcribed over 20 years ago by Professor Cheney, who states (*private communication,* 1/12/55) that he originally intended to work on the family but never did so. One of the two copies of these transcriptions, forming a book of 323 pages, is in the Essex Record Office.

Writtle was originally in the Parish of Chelmsford and one of the many John Montpelliers mentioned in the above deeds may be identical with "John the Spicer of Chelmsford," *c.* 1308–13 and with "John de Writele, Spicer," who in the Lay Subsidy Roll of 1322 is assessed at 6s. 8d. in the Ward of Chepe.

In the royal household there was a close connexion between the fruiterer who supplied fresh fruit and the apothecary who supplied fresh and dried fruits as well as medicines. Several court fruiterers are associated with Writtle and it is possible that the John the Fruiterer who in 1252–3 presented his accounts with Robert Montpellier was the John Montpellier who was killed in 1258 (*CPR, 1258,* 663). Similarly, the Peter Montpellier now being considered has as his clerk Elias de Wretele (document I), whilst another court fruiterer was William de Wretele (document H).

Writtle was a royal manor long held by the Bruces but forfeited on their rebellion. It was leased to Richard de Abyndon for 7 years from 1306 (*Cal. Docs. Scotland,* II, No. 1804) and it is possibly significant that a Stephen de Abyndon and Richard de Montpellier the younger (son of the royal apothecary) were appointed royal purveyors at the same time and by the same writ (*CPR, 1308,* 45).

Odinet the queen's espicer (*apothecarius*) for a rent of 20 marks from Haltone and Kylingholme in Lincolnshire forfeited by Alexander FizClay, a Scotsman who had fought against the king at the battle of Stirling [Bannockburn]."[123] The same or other land is referred to in 1326[124] and 1328[125] and Odinet was alive in the latter year. In later years there is no mention of Odinet and shortly before Isabella's death drugs were supplied by Nicholas Thomasyn. About this time she made "a small gift to Isabella Spicer her god-daughter (*filiolae reginae*)" who might have been a daughter of Odinet Spicer.[126]

G. E. TREASE

APPENDIX I

SUPPORTING DOCUMENTS

For the purposes of easy reference the documents printed below are lettered A to K. The arrangement is roughly chronological, the persons already described in the text being found as follows: Robert Montpellier in A and B; Richard Montpellier in C and D; Richard's wife in E; Peter the Spicer in F, Peter Montpellier in G and H; William of Writtle in I; and Odinet Spicer in J and K. Roman numerals have been converted into Arabic ones and the abbreviation *li* into lb. or £.

Since many of the commodities mentioned are found in more than one document, they will be considered together in an alphabetical list (Appendix II), rather than in scattered footnotes.

Document ***A***—P.R.O. E101/349/10

Rotulus Roberti de Chaury contra W. de Bradel[127] de fructibus et electuariis[128] captis post compotum factum ad festum Sancti Johannis Baptiste anno xxxvi / [24 June 1252].

Dominica proxima post Festum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli per manum Roberti de Montepessulano pro 13½ lb. pulveris albi 11s. 5d., pro 8 lb. Rosat' nouelle 5s. 4d., / pro 10 lb. triasandal' 6s. 8d., pro 2½ lb. zucar' rosat' 20d., pro 4 lb. seminis 12d., pro 6 lb. resumptioni Regis 10s., pro 11½ lb. tria / sandal' 7s. 8d., pro 16½ lb. pulveris albi 13s. 9d., pro 6 lb. cinimat' Alex' 5s., pro 7 lb. diazinziberios 4s. 8d., pro 4 lb. seminis 8d. / pro uno surrop' ad opus Regine per manum Magistri Petri Physici[129] 3s., et pro 4 pomis granatis 4s.,

---

[123] *Cal. Docs. Scotland*, III, No. 489. Inquisition taken at Lincoln, *Inq. p.m.*, 9 Ed. II, No. 5.

[124] *CPR, 1326*, 339. "Grant during pleasure, to Jakinettus de Mareigny, king's yeoman, for his service to the king and queen, of a yearly rent which Odetus Lespecer had by the king's grant by the hands of Henry de Baiocis, knight, for certain lands in the county of Lincoln."

[125] *CPR, 1328*, 251. "Restitution to Odet le Spicer of a rent payable to Henry de Baiocis, knight, for certain lands in the county of Lincoln, granted to him by letters patent of the late king, although the king lately granted the said rent, during pleasure to Jackynet de Mareigny, his yeoman."

[126] E. A. Bond, *Archaeologia*, XXXV (1853), pp. 453–469. "Notices on the last days of Isabella, Queen of Edward II."

[127] Tout, *Chapters*, V, 235, mentions that the accounts of the queen's wardrobe enrolled at the Exchequer refer to various *rotuli de particulis* and that "in 1252–3, which is the only period for which a group of such rolls has survived, nearly all were the work of Robert de Chaury" by whose "testimony and counter-roll" the queen's accounts were then being presented. In a footnote, p. 235, he suggests that these rolls, of which 349/10 is one, are "possibly the counter-roll itself, made in sections instead of as a single document." Walter of Bradley was at this date Keeper of the Queen's Wardrobe, an office which he held until 6 December 1254.

[128] The contents of this document provide a good example of the wide meaning of the word electuary.

[129] Master Peter the Physician would refer to the queen's physician, Peter de Alpibus, who, Tout says (*Chapters*, V, 234), may be the same as Peter the Leech of Jonzac.

pro una curda (ging)ibrati[130] pond' 13 lb. 26s. Item pro ¼ [lb.] / zucar' violat' 4d., et pro 3 lb. Resumptioni Regis 4s. 8d. Item per manum Johannis fructarii[131] pro 500 piris Janettar' 2s. (..d.), pro 1000 piris de Sorell 2s. 9d., et pro 800 (?) / piris de Cailloel vicissim captis ab eodem circa festum Sancti Michaelis 7s. 8½d. / Summa 19s. 3½d. / Summa totalis de fructibus et electuariis emptis post compotum factum ad Festum Sancti Johannis Baptiste anno xxxvi usque Festum Apostolorum Simonis et Jude anno incipiente xxxvii [28 Oct. 1252], £5 19s. 3½d.

Expens' super fructibus et electuariis anno xxxvii [1242–43].

Dominica proxima post Festum Sancti Clementis apud Wynton' pro 8 lb. pulveris albi, 4 lb. stomatic' confortati' et 1 lb. zeodoar' ad opus regine et 2 lb. zucar' 15s. 7d. / Item per manum Roberti de Montepessulano de electuariis captis ab ipso a Festo Omnium Sanctorum usque Purificationem Beate Marie pro 30 lb. pulveris albi 28s. 2d., pro 11 lb. diazinziber' / 7s. 4d., pro 9 lb. cinimat' Alex' 7s. 6d., pro ¼ lb. diadragant' 2s. 8d., pro 5 lb. diamargar' 15s., pro candi et penid' 7d., pro 8 lb. seminis / 22d. Item pro 9 lb. pulveris albi 9s., et pro una curda gingebrati 20s. Item per manum Deteut' (?) pro 10 lb. zucar' 10s. et pro 100 piris 2s. et pro panerio ad eadem 3d. / pro 1 lb. de penidis 12d., pro candi 4d., pro 3 lb. diadragant' frigid' 2s., pro 4 lb. grane 12d., pro zucara et melle et diversis speciebus appositis ad claretum[132] / regine per visum Magistri Radulphi de Neketon 18s. 6d., pro syrupis ad opus Galfridi filii Johannis per manum Magistri Thome Physici[133] 8s. 3½d., pro 5 lb. pulveris albi 5s., / pro 6½ lb. cinimat' et 5 lb. pulveris albi 9s. 7d., pro syrupis et electuariis ad opus Edmundi filii Regis[134] 6s. 8d., pro syrupis ad opus Barth' de / Botel' infirmantis 2s. Item per manum Roberti de Montepessulano pro 26¾ lb. pulveris albi a Festo Purificationis Beate Marie usque ad Octabas Pasche 22s. 3½d., pro 9 lb. / cinimat' Alex' 7s. 6d., pro 6½ lb. de diacitoniton 5s. 5d., pro 8½ lb. stomatic' confortat' 7s. 8d., pro ½ lb. pionie 3½d., pro 11 lb. / diazinziberis 7s. 4d., pro penid' ad opus Edmundi filii Regis 3d., pro 2 lb. diamargar' 6s., pro 2 lb. diadragant' frigid' 16d., pro zucar' et candi 3d., pro 8 lb. liquir' 2s. pro 4 / lb. seminis 12d., pro syrupis vicissim quesitis ad mandatum Magistri Petri Physici ad opus regine et Edmundi filii sui 20s. 8d., et pro syrupis quesitis / ad opus Edmundi ad mandatum Magistri Radulphi de Neketon 9s. 4d. / Summa £13 5s. 3½d. /

Dominica proxima post Festum Sancti Marci Ewangeliste Johanni fructuario London' pro piris et pomis captis ab eodem a Festo Omnium Sanctorum usque Festum Sancti Barnabe / Apostoli 77s. 3½d. Item per manum Roberti de Montepessulano pro sirrup' et aliis minutis rebus captis per manum Magistri Petri Physici ad opus Edmundi filii Regis egrotantis / apud Wind' 4s. 2d. Et pro 14¾ lb. pulveris albi 12s. 3½d., pro 4 lb. diadragant' frigid' 2s. 8d., pro 12 lb. rosate nouelle 8s., et pro 12¼ / lb. de triasandel' 8s. 2d., et pro electuario capto ad opus Regine per manum Magistri Petri Physici 16d., et pro alio electuario ad opus eiusdem per manum Magistri R. de Neketon / 20d., et pro electuario capto ad opus eiusdem et filii sui per manum Magistri Reimundi Physici 3s. 2d., et pro 1 oz. de Reubarb' et ¼ [lb.] de triasandal' ad opus Edmundi / 12d. per manum Magistri Petri. Et pro 7½ lb. de Diacitonit' 6s. 3d. pro penid' et candy 6d. Item per manum Johannis fructuarii pro 300 pomis / captis ab eodem a Festo Pentecostes usque Festum Sancti Johannis Baptiste 6s. 5d. Item pro 9½ lb. pulveris albi 7s. 11d. / Summa £7 0s. 8d. /

Summa totalis de fructibus et electuariis emptis in Garderoba Regine a Festo Apostolorum Simonis et Jude anno incipiente xxxvii usque Festum Sancti Johannis Baptiste anno eodem [24 June 1253] £20 5s. 9½d.

---

[130] Since *diazingiberios* is synonymous with (*ging*)*ibrati* (see Appendix II) one must attempt to explain why the former is here priced at 8d. lb. and the latter at 2s. I suggest that the commodity sold in gourds was probably the preserved ginger (not gingerbread) still imported from S. China via Hongkong in wide-mouthed jars and that their round shape caused them to be called gourds. This item was probably the same as the "28 lb. de giginbres en .iii. boutailles 42s." (document F). In the 1310 wardrobe account of Thomas Bishop of Exeter "ii gordes de gyngebrad" are priced at 26s. Hanbury (*Science Papers*, 483), comments: "the exact meaning of the term gorde or gurda, applied to this article, is doubtful."

[131] John the Fruiterer, possibly a Montpellier and of Writtle (see note 118).

[132] For the spices used see Appendix II under *Claretum*.

[133] Possibly Thomas de Weseham, afterwards the king's surgeon (*CCR*, *1257*, 24).

[134] Prince Edmund, born 1245.

Document ***B***[135]—P.R.O., E101/350/1

Electuaria Anno XLIX

De Roberto de Monte Pessolano die Martis in Festo Epiphanie [6 January 1265] apud Westmonasterium.

Dyazingib'	7½ lb.	pro 6s. 3d.	prec.[136] 10d. lb.
Pulveris albi	8½ lb.	pro 5s. 8d.	prec. 8d. lb.
Stomaticon	6 lb.	pro 5s.	prec. 10d. lb.

Summa 16s. 11d. prob.

De Roberto de Monte Pessolano dominica post Festum Beati Hillarii [18 January] apud Westm.

Pulveris albi	8½ lb.	pro 5s. 8d.	prec. 8d. lb.
Dyacitoniton	8 lb.	pro 6s. 8d.	prec. 10d. lb.
Gran'	6 lb.	pro 18d.	prec. 3d. lb.
Lycor'	6 lb.	pro 18d.	prec. 3d. lb.

Summ 15s. 4d. prob.

De Roberto de Monte Pessolano ad opus domine Alyenore[137] dominica in Festo Conversionis Beati Pauli [25 January] apud Westm.

Dyugalanga[138]	2 lb.	pro 3s. 4d.	prec. 10d. lb.
Cyminat' Alexand'	4 lb.	pro 3s. 4d.	prec. 10d. lb.
Stomaticon confort'	2 lb.	pro 20d.	prec. 10d. lb.
Pulveris albi	3 lb.	pro 2s.	prec. 8d. lb.
Grana	4 lb.	pro 12d.	prec. 3d. lb.
Gariof'		pro 20d.	
Mac'		pro 16d.	

Summa 14s. 4d. prob.

De Roberto de Montepessolano die mercurie post Purificationem Beati Marie [4 February] apud Westm.

Pulveris albi	11 lb.	pro 7s. 4d.	prec. 8d. lb.
Dyazingib'	5½ lb.	pro 4s. 7d.	prec. 10d. lb.
Diacimin'	6½ lb.	pro 5s. 5d.	prec. 10d. lb.
Stomaticon	10½ lb.	pro 8s. 9d.	prec. 10d. lb.
Gran'	6 lb.	pro 18d.	prec. 3d. lb.

Summa 27s. 7d. prob.

De Roberto de Montepessolano dominica in Festo Beati Petri in Cathedra [22 February] apud Westm.

Diaroddon abbatis	6 lb.	pro 5s.	prec. 10d. lb.
Diacimini	10 lb.	pro 8s. 4d.	prec. 10d. lb.
Licor'	4 lb.	pro 12d.	prec. 3d. lb.
Diazingiberos	6½ lb.	pro 5s. 5d.	prec. 10d. lb.
Pulveris albi	3 lb.	pro 2s.	prec. 8d. lb.
Resumpt' .. .. .. (Gran)[139]	4 lb.	pro 6s. 8d.	prec. 20d. lb.

Summa 28s. 5d. prob.

---

[135] After transcribing this document I found a transcription of it made by Joseph Hunter in the nineteenth century *B.M. Add. MS.* 25459, f. 20). The latter was partly reproduced in a very faulty paper by C. J. S. Thompson (*Proc. Royal Soc. Med.*, 1935, XXVIII, No. 3, 1157–59).

[136] In the original the word *precium* is variously abbreviated as p'c', preciu', p'ciu' and prec.

[137] For Queen Eleanor.

[138] Dy*u*galanga is obviously a scribal error for dy*a*galanga. The sum charged does not agree with the price per lb. given.

[139] The word *grain* deleted by scribe.

De Roberto de Montepessolano die Sabbati in vigilia Pasche [4 April] apud Westm.

Gran'	6 lb.	pro 18d.	prec. 3d. lb.
Licor'	4 lb.	pro 12d.	prec. 3d. lb.
Rosat' novell'	7 lb.	pro 5s. 10d.	prec. 10d. lb.
Triasandali	6½ lb.	pro 5s. 5d.	prec. 10d. lb.
Diantos	6 lb.	pro 5s.	prec. 10d. lb.

Summa 18s. 9d. prob.

De Roberto de Montepessolano die Martis post Octab' Pasche [14 April] apud Westm.

Stomaticon	4½ lb.	pro 3s. 9d.	prec. 10d. lb.
Triasandali	5½ lb.	pro 4s. 7d.	prec. 10d. lb.
Diarodon abbatis	5 lb.	pro 4s. 2d.	prec. 10d. lb.
Diantos li.[140]	5½ lb.	pro 4s. 7d.	prec. 10d. lb.
Zucar' Alex'	5 lb.	pro 4s. 2d.	prec. 10d. lb.
Electuar' ad restaur' ..	8½ lb.	pro 7s. 1d.	prec. 10d. lb.
Rosat' novell'	6 lb.	pro 5s.	prec. 10d. lb.

Summa 33s. 4d. prob.

De Philippo apothecario Gloucestr' dominica in Festo Inventionis Sancte Crucis [3 May] apud Gloucestr'

Diapenidion	7½ lb.	pro 6s. 3d.	prec. 10d. lb.
Grana	5 lb.	pro 15d.	prec. 3d. lb.

Summa 7s. 6d. prob.

De Reginaldo apothecario Hereford die sabbati in vigilia Penth' ibidem [23 May]

Stomaticon confortat' ..	4 lb.	pro 4s.	prec. 12d. lb.
Grane li.[141]	15 lb.	pro 3s. 9d.	prec. 3d. lb.

Summa 7s. 9d. prob.

Tot' in rotulo—Summa totalis £8 9s. 11d. prob.

Document **C**—Extract P.R.O., E101/368/30

Johan de Drokenesford[142] Gardein de la Garderobe le Roy a sire Rauf de Stok[143] clerk de la grant Garderobe le Roy saluz. Pur ceo / que Richard de Montpeillers Especer le Roy[144] est assigné d'aler vers les parties de Londres pur diverses purveances faire pur la maladie le Roy / sicome il est plus pleinement enjoint par les Fisiciens le Roy, vous man[d] et pri que de totes maneres de purveances q'il avra purveu pur / la maladie le Roy voillez aconter ovesque lui ou assigner autre en vostre leu de ceo faire et entrer ses parcelles en aconte de / Garderobe.[145] Et jeo vous en ferai avoir due alloance sur vostre aconte. Et ceste chose en facez a plus en haste que vous purrez sicome vous / volez le sanité du corps le Roy. Adieu. Escrit a Neuburgh[146] en Tyndale le jour de la Nativité nostre Dame. L'an du regne le Roy / Edward Trentt quart [8 September 1306].

---

[140] The first *li.* a scribal error.

[141] The first *li.* a scribal error.

[142] John of Drokensford or Droxford was Keeper of the Wardrobe from November 1295 to July 1307 (Tout, *Chapters*, II, 17). This letter is with the roll, part of which forms our document D and part of which has already been published by Moorman (*E.H.R.*, 1952, 67, 173).

[143] Ralph Stokes was Clerk of the Great Wardrobe from April 1300 to July 1307 (Tout, *Chapters*, VI, 35). See also H, line 1.

[144] Richard Montpellier is here described by the old title *Especer le Roy* rather than the newer one of *Apothicaire du Roi*.

[145] As a result of this order Richard Montpellier sent some 2196 lb. of medicines to the king at Lanercost Priory (see document D).

[146] Neuburgh in Tyndale (Newbrough, about 4 miles west of Hexham, near the junction of the north and south Tynes), where the above was dated on 8 September 1306. The king was in Newcastle in August. After leaving Newbrough he was at Blenkensopp Castle (15 miles further west) on 16 September and completed the journey to Lanercost Priory (a further 9 miles) by 29 September. For Edward I to move at such a snail's pace indicates the seriousness of his illness.

Document ***D***—Extracts P.R.O. E101/368/30

Ricardo de Montepessulano pro factura 2196½ lb. diversorum electuariorum[147] pro qualibet lb. 18d., £164 14s. 9d. / Eidem pro factura 6 lb. penid' pret. 2s. lb., 12s. Eidem pro factura 70 lb. cere rubre[148] pret' lb. 18d., 105s.

. . . In pix' emptis apud Eboracum[149] pro electuariis imponendis 3s. 6d. / In uno papiro empto pro empcionibus et liberatis Garderobe intrandis 6s. 8d. In 360 pergamenis emptis pro compoto / Garderobe et aliis necessariis in dicta Garderoba, pret' duoden' 18d., 45s. In duobus clericis auxiliantibus ad scribendum et perficiendum compotum / dicti domini Radulphi cuilibet 33s. 4d., 66s. 8d. In conductione domus Garderobe per annum presentem 100s. Item Stephano / Meau existenti ad vadia Regis a principio anni presentis usque finem anni eiusdem videlicet per 365 dies capienti per diem 3d. / £4 11s. 3d. Item pro factura 136 lb. albi pulveris pret' 18d. lb.,[150] £10 4s. Item Radulpho de Stokes[151] clerico magne / Garderobe Regis pro vadiis suis a principio anni presentis usque finem anni eiusdem £20 /

Summa £249 11s. 2d. prob'.

Ricardo de Montepessulano pro factura 282 lb. electuariorum factorum de zucra Garderobe[152] per manus domini J. de Langeford liberantis / pret' 12d. lb., £14 2s. 6d. Eidem pro 106½ lb. albi pulveris pret' 2s. lb., £10 13s. Eidem pro diversis / suripis (*sic*), medicinis, unguentis, electuariis et emplastris emptis London' per dictum Ricardum pro infirmitate domini Regis per preceptum eiusdem / existentis apud Lanrecost et Karliolum ut patet per perticulas plenius contentas in cedula[153] quam idem Ricardus liberavit inde in Garderobam / anno presenti £129 16s. 4d. In cariagio predictarum rerum de London' usque Karliolum eundo et redeundo una cum expensis dicti / Ricardi querentis predicta eundo et redeundo cum .v. equis 100s. /

Summa £159 11s. 10d. prob'.[154] /

Document ***E***—P.R.O. S.C.8/125, No. 6202

A nostre seignour le roi et a soen conseil prie Margarete femme e executrice Richard de Mounpellers / que de sa grace voille graunter une partie de la dette que nostre seignour le roi soen pere deveit a dict Richard / pour diverses especeries achatez de li la quele dette amounte a £158 15s. 5d.[155] sicom piert / par bille acounte en la garderobe le dit nostre seignour le roi. E la dite Margarete pardonra une bone / partie de la dite dette pur estre payee d'u[ne] rente quite dount ele puisse eyder li e ses enfauntz e p[ayer] / aillours choses dount ele est charges sour le testament le dit Richard soen seignour.

---

[147] In this wardrobe account of 34 Ed. I the 2196½ lb. of electuaries, which must have varied considerably in value, are charged at a flat rate of 1s. 6d. lb. This method of pricing, which is quite unlike that in documents A and B, was perhaps only permitted in view of the urgent need to get the drugs to Lanercost. The list of drugs referred to in note 153 does give itemized prices and contains some very expensive remedies. That Richard charged the dying king high prices is perhaps an indication that he expected to have to wait some time for payment. If so, this expectation was fulfilled.

[148] Colouring wax red; doubtless with vermilion and for the king's seal.

[149] Boxes bought at York for holding electuaries.

[150] Making 136 lb. of powdered sugar at 1s. 6d. lb.

[151] Ralph Stokes. See note 143.

[152] Electuaries made by Richard from wardrobe sugar at 1s. lb.

[153] The itemized list here referred to has been published (Moorman, *E.H.R.*, 1952, **67**, 173–4) and totals the same price of £129 16s. 4d. In view of the historical and pharmaceutical interest of these items they are included, with additional notes, in Appendix II.

[154] The sum of £159 11s. 10d. owed to Richard is similar to the £158 15s. 5d. afterwards claimed by his wife. See document E.

[155] The sum of money mentioned approximates to that in document D, see note 154. This small document, which is included in the P.R.O. special collection under "Ancient Petitions of the Chancery and the Exchequer," is undated. Early Ed. II is suggested.

Document **F**—P.R.O. E101/359/23

. . . les parties Pierre l'Espicer[156] prises a Nichole[157] et puis / premierement pour 300 de pomes 3s. / Item figues 8 lb., resins 6 lb., 21d. / Item figues 6 lb., resins 4 lb., 15d. / Item pour choses d'espicerie et siros pour monseigneur Hue de Ver[158] par le commendement Madame 4s. 3d. / Item pour 4 lb. de requelise et un galon de miel et 12 bottes 27d. / Item succre 4 lb., 10s. acheté a Nichole du commende/ment sire Jehen de Godelet[159] le jeudi devant les brandons. / Item succre 4 lb., 10s. et pour une grant jate 4./d. le mardi aprés les brandons. / Item pour 200 de pomes 2s. le mercredi aprés. / Item pour 3 lb. de penides 6s. et pour une botte 3d. / le jeudi aprés. / Item succre 6 lb. 15s. le lundi en la seconde semeyne / de karesme. / Item pour siros, herbes et autres choses 4s. 4d. / pour Jehen Prieur, compaignon Mathé de Monmartin. / Item [un marc preté a Madame[160] en venant de Nichole a la requeste sire Jehen de Godelet et Mathé de Monmartin][161] / Item pour 3 lb. de succre 7s. 6d. et pour 200 de po/mes et 20 poires 33d. le jeudi aprés. / Item le kariage de Nichole jusques a Nortentonne .vii. jours monté 8s. 2d. / Item le kariage de Nortentonne a Oudestot .v. jours monté 5s. 10d. et en portage 2d. a Oudestot. / Item le kariage de Oudestot jusques a Esvesey 5s. 10d. de .v. jours / et pour fruit 26d. / Item pour une aquenee de Londres jusques a Ailes 3s. / 8d., en corde et ii pagniers 9d. pour le / fruit aporter. / Item en kariage a Fesqueneey 18d. / Item mes despans de .xi. jours [12s. 3d.] £4 os. 1d. / [somme £6 4s. 6d.] ssq^{ur} C £2 os. 10d. chascun / [ssq^{ur} C 4 chascun 14d. 10d.] / Item [£4 2s. 12d. que je Pierre

---

[156] This document is described in the P.R.O. List and Index No. XXXV as "Account of Peter the Grocer." The word translated grocer is *espicer*, which at this period, 29 Ed. I, is better translated as spicer since the word grocer was not yet in common use. I believe him to be Peter de Paris.

[157] On 12 February 1301 Edward I and Queen Margaret were at Lincoln and it is the queen who is referred to as "my lady." In the itinerary of Edward, as given by Gough (*State Travels of Ed. I, Royal Hist. Soc.*, 1906, 164–5), the journey from Lincoln compares closely with the one given in this document:

Edward's Itinerary	*Document F*
12 February to 1 March in Lincoln.	Sugar purchased in Lincoln 12 February and 27 February.
2 March: Lincoln and Waddington. 10 March: Northampton.	Refers to 7 days on horseback from Lincoln to Northampton.
17–19 March: Woodstock.	Refers to journey of 5 days from Northampton to Oudestot (Woodstock).
20–22 March: Winchcombe. 23 March: Abbey of Hailes, near Gloucester.	Ailes.

Peter apparently left the main party to go to London, and later rejoined the Queen at Hailes. The places Esvesey (possibly Eversley, near Sandhurst), Fesqueneey and Huydezores (possibly Windsor) have not been identified. The Queen was pregnant at this period and gave birth to Prince Edmund at Woodstock on 5 August.

[158] Hugh de Vere, Earl of Oxford 1221–63, had served as chamberlain at the marriage of Eleanor of Provence, but his son, Earl Robert 1263–96, lost the office through his adherence to Simon de Montfort (Tout, *Chapters*, I, 109, n.). The man here mentioned was in Paris when Margaret's marriage was arranged. Agnes Strickland in *Lives of the Queens of England*, I, 454, quotes Edmund of Lancaster as saying "King Philip assured me, by word of mouth, that he would agree to the aforesaid terms; and he came into my chamber where the Queen my wife was with Monsieur Hugh de Vere, and Master John de Lang and he brought with him the Duke of Burgundy." The Veres held land in Writtle (Wright, T., *History of Essex* (1836), 172).

[159] Sir John de Godelet will be John of Godley who was keeper of Margaret's wardrobe from 1300 to at least 1305 (Tout, *Chapters*, II, 43, n. 1).

[160] The entry regarding the mark borrowed by the queen has been crossed out, which seems to suggest that it was repaid before the account was presented. This and other entries crossed out in the manuscript are indicated by square brackets.

[161] Matthew of Monmartin will be the knight who held the manor of Bourne, Sussex (*CPR, 1330*, 1); John Prior has not been identified.

preste a sire / Raol le Trasier[162] a Fesqueneey par aun marche/ent que j'y confie]. / Somme £10 7s., de ce ai ge reseu 20s. par Jehen / de Cortenai.[163] Item 20s. par sire Jehen de God(elet). Item 1s. par sire / Guill(aume) de Meltonne.[164] Item i marc. . . . /

Item [pour 28 lb. de giginbres en 3 boutailles[165] / achetées a Londres de Hugue Mege[166] provensal 42s. / les quelles furent aportees a Huydezores 23d. per lb.]. / Item [3s. 4d. du demorant de £10 et 40d. que / Madame me devoit].

Document ***G***[167]—P.R.O. E101/363/18, f. 5d, lines 24–39

Johanni de Bohun clerico misso de London' usque Sandwicum mense Januarii pro cera, / amigdal', ficubus, et racemis, dactylis, et aliis rebus garderobe emendis ibidem pro denariis per ipsum / solutis pro batillagio 20 copularum ficuum et racemorum, et duarum balarum amigdal' cariatarum de / Sandwico usque London' per aquam mense Februarii, 3s. 8d. Eidem pro consimilibus / denariis datis per eundem diversis batellariis cariantibus eundem fructum de diversis navibus / in quibus emebatur ibidem usque ad bargiam in qua cariabatur abinde usque London' / una cum quibusdam aliis portagiis similiter factis ibidem per vices 22d. Eidem pro denariis / per ipsum datis pro brocagio et electione fructus in dictis navibus 12d. Eidem pro vadio / et expensis Petri de Montepessulano, apothecarii London', euntis in comitiva / eiusdem Johannis pro dicto fructu similiter eligendo et emendo, et euntis abinde usque London' / ad dominum Walterum Regin' pro eodem certiorando de empcione predicta; pro expensis suis / et stipendio hakenetii eundo er redeundo per quinque dies 6s. 5d. Eidem Johanni pro / stipendio 9 hakenettorum portantium Jocalia, ceram, et amigdal', ficus et racemos de London' usque / Langel' per unum diem contra adventum Regis et Regine ibidem mense Februarii 9s. / Et pro portagio dicti fructus de aqua Tamisie usque ad hospicium domini W. Regin' ibidem / 15d.

Document ***H***[168]—Extracts P.R.O. E101/374/5, f. 43, r and d

Domino Radulpho de Stokes[169] clerico Magne Garderobe de prestito super officio suo, per manus Roberti de Ryston / clerici sui apud Westmonasterium x° die Julii £20; per manus Johannis Apothecarii Cantuarie[170] pro 120 lb. cere empte / ab eo per J. de Percy

---

[162] Sir Raoul le Trasier has not been identified but was presumably the man who succeeded Master William of Chesoy, who was Margaret's treasurer from 1298–1300 (Tout, *Chapters*, II, 43, n. 1).

[163] John de Courtnay will be John of Courtenay, who was the only controller of Margaret's household specifically so-called. He went to Paris on the queen's business in 1302–3 (Tout, *Chapters*, V, 239).

[164] Sir William de Melton held the post of cofferer for at least the first twelve months of the existence of Margaret's household (Tout, *Chapters*, V, 240). He then transferred to the service of the king's eldest son and by 1310 was keeper of Edward II's wardrobe.

[165] This document contains no drugs of special pharmaceutical interest although the reference to 28 lb. of ginger in three bottles suggests that this item was probably not dry ginger but ginger preserved in syrup and probably contained in something like the wide-mouthed earthenware jars now imported from Hongkong.

[166] Hugh Mege bears a surname which denotes a doctor or one who provides remedies (*megement* = remedy). One of the Constables of Bordeaux bore this surname. Hugh Mege or Megge was well known in London and as early as 1282 he was owed £18 for spicery to be paid in annual instalments of £6 at St. Botolph's fair (*City of London Letter Book A*, 47). In an enquiry called for by the king as to whether the brokerage on a cask of wine should be 2d. or 6d. inquisition was made by seven merchants of England and six foreign merchants, one of the latter being Hugh Mege (*Letter Book A*, 214).

[167] This is an extract from the *Liber Petri de Abytone* [*Abingdon*] *contrarotulatoris garderobae Principis Wallie*. It refers to a journey made in January and February 1303 by John de Bohun clerk and Peter de Montpellier apothecary of London. They went from London to Sandwich to select and buy fresh fruit and spicery from ships lying there and arrange their delivery for the coming of the King and Queen to Langley. It provides another example of an apothecary acting as a fruiterer.

[168] This document is referred to in our text, p. 36, and consists of extracts from the Account Book of Imprests of the Wardrobe which refer to events in 1310. In this year Edward II invaded Scotland and reached Roxborough on 20 September.

[169] Ralph Stokes, Clerk of the Great Wardrobe under Edward I (see note 143) and under Edward II from 1307 to *c.* 1320.

[170] John Apothecary of Canterbury for wax.

anno tercio apud Westmonasterium 15 die Julii 77s.; per manus Edmundi le / Spicer[171] pro zukura empta ab eo per dictum J. anno tercio ibidem eodem die 10s.

. . . per manus / Johannis Vanne et sociorum suorum mercatorum de societate Bellardorum de Luca[172] in partem £169 / 8s. deb' eisdem pro speciaria ab eis empta anno tercio qui (*sic*) indorsantur in una billa sigillo / dicti clerici signata penes eosdem mercatores remanente ibidem 23 die Julii 100 marce. . . . / Eidem de prestito super eodem per manus Rogeri de Seleby Apothecarii Eboraci[173] pro speciaria ab eo empta / apud Eboracum 16 die Augusti 9s. 11d.; per manus Petri de Montepessulano[174] apud Novum Castrum super Tynam / 6 die Septembris 20s.; per manus Elie de Whetele clerici sui ibidem eodem die 100s.; per manus Petri de Monte/pessulano apud Wolloure[175] 14 die Septembris £10; per manus Elie de Whetele clerici sui apud Rokesburgh' / 18 die Septembris £6. Eidem per manus Johannis de Warle recipientis denarios pro cera ab ipso capta anno presenti per billam dicti clerici in garderoba / liberatam London' 7 die Augusti per Lymbergh' £10 4s. 3d.; per manus Petri de Montepessulano / super officio suo ibidem 7 die Augusti 100s. Eidem de prestito super eodem per manus domini Elie de Whetele clerici sui apud Berewycum[176] super Twedam 8 / die Januarii 10 marce; per manus Walteri de Gosewyk pro panno, pelura, et diversa speciaria emptis / de eodem per dictum dominum Radulphum mense Novembris anno presenti per billam eiusdem domini Radulphi in garderoba liberatam / ibidem 14 die Decembris £49 6s. 8d.; per manus domini Elie de Whetele ibidem 20 / die Januarii £4; per manus dicti Elie recipientis denarios de Ricardo de Lustenhall clerico apud / Boulton' 17 die Septembris 40s.; per manus Petri de Montepessulano[177] super electuario faciendo / ibidem ultimo die Januarii 10s.; per manus Gilberti de Taunton super sella facienda pro Regina / apud Berewycum super Twedam 6 die Januarii 10 marce. /

Document I[178]—P.R.O. E101/374/4

Pour la Reyne. / Item maundé a la Reyne alant vers Caunterbirre le vendredi prochein devant le jour de la Nativité de seint Johan [24 June] / 800 de blaunksdureaux[179] pris 6s. Item .i. paigner[180] 3d. portage 5d. / Item a Eltham le meskredi prochein aprés la feste des apostres seint Perre & seint Pol [29 June] poirres pris 10d. Item cerises 6d. paigners 1d. & portage 3d. / Item mesme le jour a Weymoster poirres pris 10d., cerises 6d., 100 de blaundureux 9d., / 3 paigners 2d., portage 1d. / Item a Weymoster le juedi aprés poirre 14d., cerises 12d., paigners 1½d., portage 1d. / Item a Weymoster le vendredi aprés poirres pris 2s., cerises 2s., paigners 3d., portage 1d. / Item a Weymoster le samadi suant poirres pris 2s., cerises 2s., 311 de blaunkdureux 2s. 7½d., paigners 4½d., portage 1d. / Summa 24s. 5½d. p[ar.] / Item a Weymoster le dymanch devant la feste de la Translacion de seint Thomas [3 July] poirres pris 2s., cerises 2s., paigners 3d., portage 1d. / Item le marsdi le jour de la Translacion poirres pris 18d., cerises 18d. / 200 de blaunkdurels 18d., 3 paigners 4½d., portage 1d. / Item le meskredi lendemein de la Translacion poirres pris 14d., cerises 18d. / paigners 2½d., portage 1d. / Item le juedi suant poirres pris 18d., cerises 18d., paigners 2d., portage 1d. / Item le vendredi suant poirres pris 2s., cerises 18d., 2 paigners 2½d., portage 1d. / Item mesme le jour a seir poirres 12d., cerises 6d., paigners 1d. / Summa [19s. 4½d.] / 20s. 10½d. p[ar.] / Item maundé a la Reyne a Notingham le meskredi prochein devant la feste de seint / Laurenz une charge de divers fruyt que custa 10s. Item 2 paigners 6d. Item / cariage 3s. Summa 13s. 6d. p[ar.] / Item a Blith le jour de seint Laurenz

---

[171] Edmund Spicer for sugar.

[172] The merchants of Lucca were acting as king's agents as early as 1280 (Powicke, *The Thirteenth Century*, 505). For Lucca merchants in London see *Letter Books A* and *B*.

[173] Roger of Selby, apothecary of York, for spicery.

[174] Peter Montpellier and Elias de Whetele his clerk at Newcastle on 6 September. I suspect that this Elias de Whetele is the man referred to as Elie of Wheatley (Tout, *Chapters*, VI, 35), who was Clerk of the Great Wardrobe in 1317, but that he takes his name from Writtle in Essex. See William of Writtle, document I.

[175] Peter Montpellier at Wolloure (Wooler, 17 miles south of Berwick) on 14 September. Elias de Whetele at Roxborough on 18 September, where the king arrived two days later.

[176] Elias at Berwick on 20 January.

[177] Peter Montpellier making an electuary at Bolton on 31 January.

[178] This document of 1310–1 is from the same period as document H and is referred to on page 36. It deals with purchases of fruit made by the fruiterer William of Writtle for Queen Isabella in both England and Scotland.

[179] Blaunksdureaux, a kind of apple called blandurel.

[180] Paigner, basket for carrying fruit.

[10 August] 2 dossiers de divers fruyt pris 15s. / Item 3 paigners 13½d. Item cariage 3s. Summa 19s. 1½d. p^ar. / La summe tout de les parcelles avandites £3 17s. 10½d. par., / la quele summe ne fut point alowé a la darreniere acounte. /

C'est le roule de les parcelles[181] de fruyt que William de Writtle ffrutier a mandé / a la Reyne en Escoce puis la feste de Seint Martin [11 November], l'an du regne le Roi Ed/ward fiz le Roi Edward quart, jesques a noël l'an du regne le roi avandit / quynt. Primes mande a la Reyne a Berwyk le 16 jour de Novembre [1310] / 5000 de divers fruyt que amonte ove cariage, portage & en toutes choses £5. / Item le vendredi a 3 semeines devant noël a Berwyk 1000 des poirres 20s. / Item 300 de pommes 3s. Item .i. baril 12d.—Item cariage 8s. / Item a Berwyk le luendi prochein devant la feste de seint Ffabian & de / seint Bastian [19 January 1311] 2000 de pommes 40s. pour toute manere de custe. Item / 2,300 des poirres 46s. / Item a Berwyk le simeigne devant la pentecuste 5000 de pommes / pris 55s. Item pour barils 4s. Item pour cariage 10s. / la summe en Escoce £14 7s. par. /

Document ***J***—P.R.O. E101/375/11

Particulo Odinetti apothecarii de anno vii°.[182] Se sunt les parceles pour Madame la Reyne que Odyn l'Espicer[183] (ad) achata (a) / quant ele estoit malade a Westmoster le mois de novembre l'an septime.[184] / Premerement le x^me jour de novembre pour demi lb. de pewleus 6d.; / Item pour 1 li. de mastiz 2s. & 6d.; / Item pour 2 li. de diaquilon 20d.; / Item pour demi li. de diante 10d.; / Item pour 2 li. de eurose 12d.; / Item pour demi li. de populion 10d.; / Item le xii^me jour novembre pour camamille 12d.; / Item pour milelott 10d.; / Item pour sauge 2d.; / Item pour mauves 2d.; / Item pour guimmauves 15d.; / Item pour volveus[185] 14d.; / Item pour calamenti 6d.; / Item pour poili mianti (?) 15d.; / Item le xvii^me jour du dit mois pour 1 li. de diaquilon 10d.; / Item pour 1 li. de diante 20d.; / Item le xviii^me jour du dit mois pour 2 li. de eurose 12d.; / Item pour 1 li. de populion 20d.; / Item le xviii^me jour du dit mois pour demi li. de tamarinde 20d.; / Item pour 1 quarter de casafistul' 6d.; / Item pour roses & camemill 20d.; / Item pour ceüe 12d.; / Item pour reysins 4d.; / Item pour 1 li. d'oile rosat 12d.; / Item pour 1 li. de ceruge 16d.; / Item pour 1 li. d'ensens 12d.; / Item pour 1 li. de litarge 8d.; / Item le xix^me jour du dit mois pour demi li. de sire verge 12d.; / Item pour 5 maneres de erbes 2s. / Item pour 12 boistes[186] de plusur de maneres 10d.; / Item le xxii jour du dit mois pour 1 unce de mastic 4d.; / Item pour 1 unce de boile armeniche 6d.; / Item pour 6 maneres d'erbes 2s.; / Item pour oile rosat & violat & camamill 16d.; / Item pour 2 li. de eurose 12d.; / Item pour le xxiiii^me jour du dit mois pour 2 li. de sire verge 2s.; / Item pour let de femmes a plusour fois 20d.; / Item pour plusur maneres d'erbes 14d.; / Item le xxvii^me jour du dit mois pour 7 maneres de erbes 12d.; / Item pour oile rosat 12d.; / Item pour fleur de fewes & pour fleur de orge 4d.; / Cestes choses furent prises par la main Philipe de Beuvays[187] & Odin l'Espicer. / Summa tota istius cedule 44s. 2d. par. /

Document ***K***[188]—P.R.O. E101/375/12

Panute Odinetti Apotecarii / liberate in gard. xxviii° die oct. anno vii. / Item le vii^me jour de descembre pour la maladie Madame la Reyne pris par la main Odin l'Espicer. Item pour 4 li. / de eurose 2s. & oile rosat 12d. & pour demi li. de sire verge 12d. & pour 1 unce de / antimoni 8d.; Item le viii^me jour en descembre pour unne graunt plate de plunt[189] 12d.

---

[181] The account (*roule*) of the items (*parcelles*) of fruit which William of Writtle fruiterer has bought for the Queen in Scotland from 11 November 4 Edward II to Christmas 5 Edward II.

[182] In dorso. A nineteenth century transcription of this document was made by Joseph Hunter, B.M. Add. MS. 25459, f. 34, which is repeated in Add. MS. 24453, f. 74.

[183] Refers to "Odyn l'espicer" whilst heading on back of roll is "Odinetti apothecarii," a good example of the small contemporary distinction made between spicer and apothecary.

[184] Queen Isabella gave birth to Prince Edmund on 10 November of the sixth year. This document suggests that she may have had a miscarriage a year later.

[185] Hunter reads *volule*. See Appendix II.

[186] Hunter reads *boisces*.

[187] A Philip of Beauvais was *chirurgicus regis c.* 1300 (Tout, *Chapters*, II, 23).

[188] This is virtually a continuation of document J, but it is particularly interesting in view of the apparatus mentioned.

[189] A large sheet of lead, and a framework (*carrciu*) of oak to attach it to, to mix (*breier*, to crush, pound or mix) the ointments for the queen, and for nails. This reference to a lead "ointment-slab" is as far as I am aware unique.

& pour / .l. carrciu de chenne que la plate de plunt fu ataché sus pour breier les oniemens Madame la Reyne & / pour les clous 12d.; Item pour unne paile de arren que oun baila as surgiens Madame la Reyne pour / ferre les oniemens 2s. & pour 1 escrien de fint bailé as surgiens pour metre les boites as oniemens / Madame la Reyne 6d.; Item pour fleur de orge 4d.; Item pour fleurs de violés 8d.; Item pour merre / 10d.; Item pour tustie 12d.; Item pour boile armeniche 8d.; Item pour terra sigilata 8d.; / Item pour caumfre 18d.; Item pour felé de roses 6d.; Item pour 8 boites a metre lur oinemens & lur / enplatres 8d.; Item le xiii^{me} jour de descembre pour 1 morter de pere & pour 1 pecel a briere / les enplatres Madame la Reyne & pour 1 coutel a hecher les herbis[190] que oun a bailé as surgiens Madame / la Reyne 22d.; Item le xvi^{me} jour de descembre pour 2 pos du terre[191] que oun baila as surgiens / Madame la Reyne 2d.; Item le xviii^{me} jour de descembre pour merre 8d.; Item pour aloue cicotini / 7d.; Item pour mel 18d. e toutes ces choses avantdites baile as surgiens pour fere lur / oinemens & lur emplatres & lur lavemens.[192] Item le xxvi^{me} jour de descembre pour unne poudre / magistre[193] 12d. Item pour unne poudre 2s. Item pour aqua vite 3s. Item pour dragees / 12d. Item pour saturie 6d. / Summa tota istarum particularum 28s. 2d. p^{ar}. /

APPENDIX II

This appendix contains the words found in documents A to K together with those which form that part of D which has already been published by J. R. H. Moorman in *E.H.R.*, 1952, 173–4.

Most of the drugs ("simples") and more or less complex pharmaceutical preparations ("electuaries") used by the English court are contained in contemporary books of simples or in the *Antidotarium Nicolai*, the most frequently used formulary of the time, which originated from the School of Salerno.[194] The following abbreviations are used for the editions consulted:

S = *Le Livre des Simples Medecines*, a French translation of *Liber de simplici medicina dictus Circa instans* of (Matthew) Platearius edited from a thirteenth century manuscript (MS. 3113 Bibl. Ste. Geneviève de Paris) by Paul Dorveaux, Paris, 1913.

R = *The Herbal of Rufinus* (written *c.* 1287), as published by Lynn Thorndike, Chicago, 1946, from the sole existing manuscript (MS. Ashburnham 189 of the Biblioteca Laurentiana of Florence).

AN = *Antidotarium Nicolai* from Incunabula No. 395 of Wellcome Historical Medical Library. Published Strassburg, J. Pruss, 1483–4.

ANF = A fourteenth century abbreviated French translation of *Antidotarium Nicolai* (Bibl. Nat. MS. 25,327) as published by Paul Dorveaux as "L'Antidotaire Nicolaus," Paris, 1896. Whereas *AN* is in Latin and contains 130 items, *ANF* is in French and contains only 85 items.

Aloe, D: aloen, aloem *S*; aloes *R*; the dried juice of *Aloe* leaves.

Aloe cicotino, D: This item is printed by Moorman (*op. cit.*) as "aloe, cicotervo (?)" with a footnote that "this word is doubtful and unintelligible." It is Socotrine aloes, this Island having produced aloes from the fourth century B.C. (Hanbury, *Pharmacographia*, 680). *R* under Aloe states "tres sunt species, cicotrinum, epaticum et caballinum." It also occurs in document *K* as "aloue cicotini," in one of Joseph Hunter's transcriptions as "aloen cicot'n" (B.M. Add. MSS. 24510, f. 167) and in the list of drugs which Toulouse apothecaries had to stock.

---

[190] For a pestle (*pecel*) to mix plasters and a knife (*coutel*) to chop up (*hecher*) herbs. The latter may have been a blade hinged at one end, i.e. a "root-cutter."

[191] Two earthenware pots.

[192] *Lavemans*, enemas.

[193] *Magistre, magistral*, following prescription.

[194] F. Prevet, *Les Statuts et Règlements des Apothicaires* (1950), p. 21. "Ordinationes Facultatis Medicinae Paris de Apothecariis ca. an. 1322, Parisiis": "La faculté de medecine pour le pourfit commun: Premierement que tout li apothicaire et espicier de Paris soient appelé cascun an pardevant nous une fois et jurechent qu'ils feront loiablement a leur povoir le mestier de l'apothèque et de l'espicerie et ke il aront l'Antidotaire Nicolas corrigiet et samblant autel l'un comme l'autre." Similarly in 1422 (*op. cit.*, p. 36): "Premiérement ils jurèrent qu'ils auraient l'ouvrage *Cinonima Correcta* et le *Circa instans* de Platéaire."

Ambra, D: ambre *S*; ambra *R*; not our amber but ambergris, a product cast up by whales or found in their intestines; "c'est esperme de la baleine" *S*.

Ambre orientale, D: nature doubtful, either ambergris from the East or some such aromatic balsam as storax from *Liquidambar orientalis*.

Antimoni, K: antimonium *S* and *R*; not our antimony but the mineral antimony sulphide; "est une vaine de terre qui semble metal et maiesmemen(t) estain" *S*.

Aqua rosata de Damasc', D: aqua rosacea *R*; eve rose, eve rouse *S* (see eurose); rose water of Damascus or damasck rose.

Aqua vite, K: a brandy-like spirit distilled from wine and spices. Arnold of Villanova mentions it in his treatise *Conservanda inventute* and its preparation was well known on the continent in the thirteenth century, although this is probably one of the earliest references to it in British records.

Argentum puro, D: argentum fixum *R*; silver. Note argentum vivum is mercury.

Auro, D: aurum *R*; gold.

Boile armeniche, J, K: bol *S*; bolarmenique *S*; bolus armenicus *R*; Armenian bole, a ferruginous earth.

Cadmeauri, D: According to Moorman (*E.H.R.*, 1952, 67, 173) "cadmia (impure zinc oxide)"; see also tustie.

Calamenti, D, J: calement *S*; calamentum *R*; the herb *Melissa calamintha*.

Camamille, J: camomilla *R*; chamomile herb or flowers.

Candi (et penid), A: a kind of sugar; "candi generantur in fundis vasorum de syrupis et extingunt sitim" *R*. Toulouse apothecaries were obliged to stock sucre candi, sucre fi(n) and sucre gros.

Casafistul', J: cassiafistula *R*; cassiaffistle *S*; the fruit of *Cassia fistula*.

Castor, D: castore *S*; castoreum *R*; a musk-like secretion of the beaver.

Ceüe, J: cegue *S*, cicuta *R*, the ciguë or hemlock.

Cere, G: cire *S*; cera *R*, beeswax. Cf. sire.

Ceruge, J: ceruse *S*; cerusa *R*; lead white or carbonate of lead.

Cinimat' Alex', A, B: A number of aromatic barks are produced by different species of *Cinnamomum* and one of these was in use in China as early as 2700 B.C. It is suggested by Hanbury (*Pharmacographia*, pp. 520–1) that the numerous references in the Old Testament and in classical writings refer to the barks now known as Chinese cinnamon and cassia lignea. These were probably the barks referred to by Galen, who suggested that 2 parts of cassia might be substituted for 1 part of cinnamon. Ceylon cinnamon, our household cinnamon, is derived from a different species of *Cinnamomum* and is not mentioned as a product of Ceylon before the thirteenth century. It was first mentioned by Kazwini *c.* 1275 and by the historian of the Egyptian Sultan Kelaoun in 1283. It seems possible, therefore, that the cinnamon referred to in *A* and *B* as Alexandrian may be some of the earliest Ceylon cinnamon imported into England.

Neither *R* nor *S* mentions Alexandrian or Ceylon cinnamon. *R* speaks of cassia, cassia lignea and cinnamomum, apparently as different barks, but remarks on cinnamomum "id est canella." *S* mentions cassie lignee and two kinds of canelle, one a thick bark, the other thinner. The latter seems the nearest to Ceylon cinnamon and the word canella (canna, a reed) does suggest the compound quills into which this bark is packed.

Cironis fundatis de gummis, D: probably the following, which contains the gums ammoniacum and galbanum: "contra l'espliem. Prenez armoniac et galbanum egalment, et metez temprer une nuit en aisil; au matin, le fondez au feu ovec cire et metez en(z) la poldre de cost et d'aluisne, et fetes en oigniment o ciroine, et oigniez, et metez en sauf." *S*, par. 49.

Claretum, A: This spiced or medicated wine has already been mentioned, p. 25. It was a type of preparation, not a single recipe. Thus *S* and *R* under claretum or claré give a number of different medicated wines containing catapucia, the seeds of a spurge; or the fern polypodium; or the purgative resin diagridium. As an after-dinner drink the formula given in Arnold's *Chronicle* would be more pleasant. This contained synamon, gynger, pepir, greynes, safron, coriander and calamus aromaticus. The latter is not unlike Arnold's formula for ipocras, a drink which long retained its popularity and which late in the fifteenth century sold at Cambridge at 3s. 4d. a gallon.

Curallo, D: coral *S*; corallus *R*; ".ii. manieres en sunt, blanche et roge" *S*.

De aquilon, D: see diaquilon.

Diantos, B; Diante, J: diantos *R*, *S*, *AN* and *ANF*; preparation of rosemary and other flowers.

Dia-: a common prefix to compound medicines.

Diaciminum, B: diaciminum magnum *AN*; diaciminum *R* and *ANF*, a preparation of cummin fruit, *Cuminum Cyminum*.

Diacitoniton, A; Dyacitoniton, A: dia citoniton *AN*, a jam from the pulp of the quince, *mala cytonia R.*

Diadragant', A; Diadragant' Frigid', A: diadragant frigid' *AN*, diadragantum *ANF*, a preparation containing tragacanth gum.

Diamargariton, A: dyamargariton *R* and *S*; diamargariton *ANF*; diamargariton magni, *AN*, a confection containing pearls.

Diapenidion, B: diapenidion magni *AN*; diapenidion *ANF*, *S* and *R*; a preparation containing barley sugar; see penides.

Diaquilon, J: R dyaquilon, a mucilage of fenugreek seeds and unguentum diaquilon made from lithage, oil and plant mucilages, i.e. an early lead plaster. The name was used by Caelius Aurelius in the fifth century and persisted as a synonym for lead plaster until the twentieth century.

Diaroddon Abbatis, B: diarodon abbatis *AN* and *ANF*, a preparation of many ingredients, including sandal wood.

Diazinziberios, A, B: The same as zinziber conditum *R*, *AN* and *ANF*, "Diazingiberios sive zingiber conditum" *AN*; in the Middle Ages commonly called "gingembras" (P. Dorveaux *S*); whence English "gingerbrad" or gingerbread. Preparation: "Feites cest gimgibre conduit: prenez les racines des pannaies (parsnip) et cuisiez les molt bien; et quant eles seront bien cuites, si les minciés, et premez l'eve ors; et puis si le metez cuire ovec miel escumé tant longuement que li mielz soit toz degastés, et le movez tot adés sus le feu o un baston qu'il ne se p(r)enne a vaissel; aprés si i metez les poudres aromatiques, si come gimigibre et poivre et noiz muscates (nutmegs) et garingal (galanga rhizome), et confisiez ensemble." *S*, par. 136.

Dyacameron, D: diacameron magni *AN*; diacameron *ANF*. "Medicamentum ducens hominem de morte ad vitam" (Du Cange).

Dyagalanga, B: a preparation of galanga rhizome; garengal *S*; galanga *R*.

Dragees, K: something sugar-coated, e.g. almonds or pills.

Electuar' ad restaur', B: electuarium ad restaurationem humiditatis *ANF*; see resumptioni.

Electuario confortativo (cum ambra et musco et margarit' et jacintar' et auro et argento puro), *D*; electuarium ad confortandum *AN*.

Emplastro (*pro collo regis*) *cum ladano* (*q.v.*) *et ambra orientalis* (*q.v.*).

Ensens, J: olibanum *S* and *R*, true frankincense or olibanum; varieties known as ensens alixandrin, damaceine, malle, menu *S*.

Eurose, J, K: eve rose ou eve rouse *S*; aqua rosata (*q.v.*), distilled rose water.

Fleur de Fewes, J: bean flour.

Fleur de Orge, J, K: farine d'orge *S*; barley flour.

Fleurs de violès, K: violés *S*; violets.

Gariof', B: This abbreviation requires care and may be given three different meanings: (*a*) as gariofile, girofle or caryophyllum, i.e. cloves; (*b*) as gariofilatum magne *AN* or gariofilate *ANF*, a confection containing cloves; or (*c*) gariofilate, a herb which Dorveaux (*op. cit.*) identifies as benoite or herb-bennet. In *S* the confection and herb are mentioned in successive sentences, "Gariofilatum est une *confection* que l'en fait de giroffle. Gariofilate est une *herbe comune* et a grant force en folle an medicines. . . . Por ce l'apele l'en gariofilate qu'ele a fleiror de giroffle." In view of the above it seems likely that peppercorn rents translated "a sextary of gilliflower wine at Christmas" were originally genuine clove wine and not derived from a plant such as the "gilliflower" or "clove-gilliflower" (clove-pink or carnation). For land held by one clove (*clavum gariofili*) see *CChR, 1320*, 430.

Giginbres, F and (*Gingi*)*brati, A:* see diazinziberios.

Grane, A, B: Several translations of grain are possible: (*a*) The mediaeval dyestuff and colouring matter known as *kermes* or *grana infectoria*, which was formerly believed to be a fruit but is an insect resembling cochineal. It was collected in Provence, Languedoc and elsewhere. It was used not only as a scarlet dye but for colouring syrups and in *confectio alkermes*, the name of which reflects its Arab origin. (*b*) Thompson (*loc. cit.*) translates this item as Grains of Paradise, the aromatic seeds of a West African plant. They are mentioned among spices sold at Lyons in 1245 (Flückiger and Hanbury's *Pharmacographia*, p. 652); and 2 lb. of them are mentioned without a price in a document of 7 Edward II (B.M. Add. MS. 24, 517, f. 122). (*a*) A third possibility is the "*Grani Fenul et Anis*" bought tempore Edward I for the Lords Thomas and Edmund (B.M. Add. MS. 24517, f. 107) and the "*Grani Feniculi*" bought in 9 Edward II (B.M. Add. MS. 24510, f. 23). The latter entry consists of 21 lb. at 5d. lb., 4 lb. at 5½d. lb. and 7 lb. at 6d. lb., prices which in 1315–6 might well be comparable with the 3d. per lb. of 1265. These aromatic seeds would be of the nature of sweetmeats and the following lines from Chaucer might apply equally well to fennel, aniseed or grains of paradise, but not to kermes:

"But first he chewed *grains* and liquorice,
To smelle sweet ere he combed his hair."

The Medieval Latin Word List and Du Cange translate as kermes; Hanbury (*Science Papers*, 481) as Grains of Paradise. I am inclined in documents such as those under consideration to favour grains of fennel and aniseed. In support of this view the wardrobe of Thomas, Bishop of Exeter, contained on his death in 1310 17 lb. of Grani Paradisi which sold for £1 16s. 6d. and 6 lb. of Feniculi and 6 lb. Anisi which sold for 2s. 9d. The price of the latter compares closely with the 3d. per lb. for the grains in document A.

Guimmauves, J: guimauve *S*; the marshmallow, *Althœa officinalis.*

Gummis, D: as now the word gum had a wide meaning and included not only true gums such as goma arabic *S* and adragante *S*, but also gum-resins.

Iacintar', D: jacinth or jacynth, a red gemstone consisting of zirconium silicates.

Ladano, D: ladanum *S*; laudanum *R*; a resinous secretion of *Cistus creticus*; in 1316 used at the funeral of John, posthumous son of Louis X (Hanbury, *op. cit.*, 141).

Let de Femmes, J: human milk is referred to in *S* under the opium poppy: "Por fere dormir. Prenez la semence de l'un et de l'autre pavout, et distemporez a lait de fame. . ."

Licor', Liquirice, A, B: Liquarice, Liquelice, Liquerice *S*, Liquiritia *R*; liquorice root.

Litarge, J: litargiron *S*; litargyrum *R*; litharge, oxide of lead.

Mac', B: macis *S* and *R*; mace, the aril of the nutmeg.

Malis Garnatis: see Pomis Granatis.

Margarit': margarites; margarita *R*; pearls: used in diamargariton magni *AN*, diamargariton *ANF*.

Mastiz: mastic *S*; mastix *R*; the resin mastic.

Mauves: mauve *S*; malva *R*; the wild mallow, *Malva rotundifolia* L. Cf. guimauve.

Mel, Miel, F: miel *S*, mel *R*; honey; "miel modifie et garde longuement la confection ou il est, l'en le met en medecines, quar'il asoage l'amerté des especies, et por garder les especies" *S*.

Merre, K: mirre, myrre *S*; mirra, *R*; myrrh.

Milelott, J: mellelot, mellilotum *S*, *R*; the plant *Melilotus officinalis.*

Mirre, D: see merre.

Musco (*ad ponendum in naribus regis*), *D:* musc *S*; muscus *R*; musk, the secretion of the musk deer. Used medicinally and for embalming.

Oile Rosat, K: oleum rosaceum, oleum rosatum, oleum roseum *R*; olive oil treated with roses and filtered; *oleum rosaceum, AN, ANF*; "Huile rosat fet l'en en tel maniere; l'en prent les roses, et puis les met l'en cuire en huile commun, et puis le cole l'en et le met l'en en sauf" *S*.

Oil Rosat et Violet et Camamill', J: an oil of roses, violet and chamomiles prepared as under oile rosat.

Oleo Benedicto, D: Some doubt exists as to the nature of this remedy, which was an expensive one as 12 oz. cost 48s. Dr. Charles Talbot suggests the Oleum Nardinum Benedictum described by Arnold of Villanova. Alternatively, it may have been a liquid balsam such as Balm of Gilead. In the *Pharmacopée Universelle* of 1716 there is a formula, which is probably a cheaper substitute for the original, entitled "Balsamum seu Oleum Benedictum." Since Edward I was near death, it is perhaps significant that *S* mentions under balsamus "corpora mortuorum incorrupta custodit et conservat."

Oleo de Terebinthino Distillato, D: I know of no earlier English reference to distilled oil of turpentine and this was obviously a rare product as 40s. were charged for an unspecified quantity. The terbentina of *R* is crude pine oleo-resin. The oil of turpentine of Theophrastus was a quite different product made by pressing the kernels of *Pistacia terebinthus.* According to Hanbury (*op. cit.*, p. 604) volatile oil of turpentine was probably the aqua ardens referred to by Marcus Graecus, the reputed inventor of Greek fire.

Oleo de Tritico, D: although not found in the formularies this was probably an impure wheat-germ oil such as is now valued for its high vitamin-content.

Oleum Fraxini, probably a rather tarry product prepared by destruction distillation from ash wood and resembling that still prepared from juniper wood. The best product is obtained from juniper but other woods were used. "Oleum de lignis fraxini fit, ut dictum est, de lignis juniperi. Specialia sunt istius olii de fraxino morpheam curare et capillos etiam denigrare, frigidam artetiticam et excorioationes cicactricare." *R*.

Oleum Laurino, D: oleum laurinum *R*; huile de lorier *S*; Moorman (*op. cit.*) translates as "oil of bayberries," but this is not strictly correct as the oil from these berries was diluted with the olive oil used for extraction. "L'en prent la baie fresche del lorier et la met l'en cuire en huile et puis la cole l'en" *S*.

Penides, A, D and F: a kind of barley-sugar, cf. candi. Penides *S*; penidii *R*; "l'en les fait en tel maneire: l'en met le sucre en l'eve et le laisse l'en cuire a maneire de sirop, que se l'en metoit une gote sus une pierre quant il sera bien cuit, que tantost le puisse l'en fendre entre .ij. doiz; idonc gitez vostre sirop sor le marbre et le merez tot chaut entre vos mains en un clou qui soit fichiez en une paroi, tant qu'il soit touz blanc" *S*.

Pewleus, J: pennyroyal, Mod F. pouliot, the herb *Mentha pulegium.*

Pinguedine castor, D: The price charged, 48s. for 16 oz., is so excessive for beaver fat that this item may have been castoreum, the musk-like secretion of the beaver. The next item, however, mentions both "Item pro unguentis acuatis cum pulveribus castorii et cum pinguedine castor' et cum pulvere furbeo (?) 49s."

Pione, A: pionia *R*; pioine, piome *S*; the seeds or roots of the peony, *Pœonia officinalis.*

Poili mianti, (?) *J:* doubtful, but probably pelios or polium *R*; polioel de montaine *S*, the herb *Teucrium polium* or *T. montanum.* In the statutes of Toulouse of 1513 "polli montanii" is included in a recipe for Antidotarium Themacale.

Pomis Granatis, A: pome granate, pome grenade *S*; pomum granatum *R*; pomegranate. Also as mala granata and males grenates *S*.

Populion, J: Unguentum populeum *R, AN* and *ANF*; ointment of poplar buds.

Pulveris Albi, A, B, D: Thompson (*op. cit.*) translates this in terms of much later pharmacopoeias as a powder containing bezoar, coral, pearls and crab's claws. It would seem, however, that the correct thirteenth century translation should be "powdered sugar" for the following reasons. The item is priced at only 8d. lb. Elsewhere we find pulvis albus priced at 8d. (usually), 10d. and 1s. lb., whilst sugar in the same documents is 10d. or 1s. lb. The most convincing argument comes, however, from a roll of expenses of Eleanor, Countess of Leicester at Odiham Castle in 1265, which is printed in *Manners and Household Expenses of England in the Thirteenth and Fifteenth Centuries* (London, 1841). Here on p. 71 is the entry "14 lb. of sugar 28s. and the note "the scribe originally wrote that this was puchased to make white powder (*ad album pulverem*); these words he struck out and the next item following is 4 lb. of white powder 8s." Thus both white powder and sugar were 2s. lb.

Resumptioni (Regis), A, B: The electuarium ad restaurationem humiditatis of *ANF* is one of the few formulae in this work not in *AN.* In the *Dispensarium Nicolai Praepositi* it is included and is there called "Electuarium resumptionem sive ad restaurandum humiditatem." The Toulouse apothecaries were required to keep in their shops Unguentum resumptinum.

Reubarb', A: reubarbe *S*, reubarbarum *R*; from "India et aliis ultramarinis partibus" *R*, i.e. medicinal rhubarb.

Reysins, J: raisins, i.e. dried grapes (raisin sec).

Rosat' Novelle, A, B: rosat novelle *AN*; rosata novella *ANF* and *R*; a preparation of roses, sugar and spices.

Roses, J: roses *S*, rosa *R*, roses. See aqua rosata, oile rosat, rosat novelle and zucar rosaceum.

Roses, felé de, K: bruised rose buds.

Saturie, K: satyrium *R*; satirion, satyrion *S*; a species of *Orchis.*

Sauge, J: sauge *S*, salvia *R*, sage, a species of *Salvia.*

Seminis, A: doubtful, possibly cummin "seeds," one of the cheapest and most used mediaeval spices or similar fruits such as fennel and aniseed. See under grana.

Sire Verge, J, K: cire, cire virge *S*; cera *R*; virgin wax, i.e. yellow beeswax as distinct from white beeswax.

Stomatici Confortationi, A, B: Either stomaticon frigidum of *AN* and *ANF*, or stomaticon calidum *AN* and *ANF.* Probably the latter, of which *ANF* says "stomaticon chaut conforte le ventrail et la virtu digestive, et vautà iliaque."

Siros, F: see surrup.

Sucar, A: see zucar.

Sucre, F: çucre *ANF*; see zucar.

Sucurrossetis (*acuatis cum margaritar' et curallo*); see zucar rosat.

Surrup', A: a syrup.

Tamarinde, J: tamarinde *S*; tamarindus *R*; the fruits of *Tamarindus indica.*

Terra Sigilata, K: terra sigillata *R*; terre soillee *S*, sealed earth; an earth, presumably that from Lemnos which was recommended by Galen, made into cakes and stamped.

Thure, D: Thus *R*; incense; see ensens.

Triasandali and Trisindali, A, B: triasandalum *R*; sandles *S*; triasandali *AN* and *ANF*; the three kinds of sandalwood, albi, rubri et citrini.

Tustie, K: Tutie, *S*, from Arab toutîa; tutty or impure oxide of zinc obtained from flues of furnaces where ores purified.

Unguento cum aloe cicotino (q.v.) *et cadmeauri* (q.v.), *D.*

Unguenti cum balsamo (see oleo benedicto) *et aloen cicotino* (q.v.), *D.*

Vino malorum garnatorum, D: wine of pomegranates. See pomis granatis.

Volveus, J: equivalent of OF. voluble, Mod. F. volubilis, the plant convolvulus.

Zeodar, A: zedoar *R*; the ginger-like spice zedoary also referred to in the thirteenth century as zedoaria vulgo citouart (Hanbury, *Science Papers,* 484); the cetewale of Chaucer.

Zucar, A, B; Zucra, D; Zukura, H; Sucar, A; Sucre, F: zucharum *R*; cucre and sucre *S.*

In addition to the Alexandrian sugar here mentioned, B.Mus. Add. MS. 24517, f. 215–252 mentions sucre caffet, sucre babiloyn, and sucre musar (? Muscat). From the number of cakes or "sugar-loaves" (*panibus*) and the weights and prices it may be calculated that each cake weighed from 8½ to 9 lb. They were conical in shape and one can be seen in a fifteenth century illustration reproduced in *Revue d'Histoire de la Pharmacie*, IV, 410. The quantities of sugar used steadily increased and by the early fourteenth century had reached considerable proportions. When Thomas Bishop of Exeter died in 1310 he left 77 lb. of sucare which sold for £3 17s. 2d. In 1319 a Venetian merchant sold no less than 10,000 lb. of sugar and 1,000 lb. of candy in London (*Cal. State Papers, Venetian*, 1319, p. 3). See also pulvis albus, syrrup, candi, penides, zucar' rosat', etc.

Zucar' Rosat', A: zucharum rosaceum *R*; çucre rosat *S*; "çucre rosat feit l'en en tel maneire: l'en prent roses triblees et les met l'en avuec sucre, et pueis les met l'en au soleil par xxx jorz, et muet bien chascun jor. L'en le puet garder .iii. anz. En tel maneire les devez metre: en .iii. livres de sucre ou en .iiii. metez una livra de roses" *S*. See also sucurrossetis.

Zucar Violat, A: zucharum violaceum *R*; violet sugar. Prepared as rose sugar, see above. Mel violaceum and mel rosaceum were similar preparations containing honey instead of sugar.

For help in the preparation of this paper my sincere thanks are due to my colleagues Professor Lewis Thorpe and Miss M. A. Renshaw for the transcription of documents written in French and Latin respectively, and to them and Professor J. S. Roskell, Dr. F. N. L. Poynter and Dr. Charles Talbot for much helpful criticism and advice.

THE PARLIAMENTARY REPRESENTATION OF LINCOLNSHIRE DURING THE REIGNS OF RICHARD II, HENRY IV AND HENRY V

The period from the accession of Richard II in 1377 to the death of Henry V in 1422 was, for the most part, a time of great social and political unrest, which touched at some point every level of English society. Recovery from the Black Death of a generation earlier had been slow, partly because of recurrences of the pestilence. In 1381 there was the short but very severe and disturbing outbreak of the Peasants' Revolt. Lollardy, encouraged by schism in the Papacy, was a cause of real and constant anxiety to English churchmen; and covetous eyes were being cast at ecclesiastical property by men who found the doctrinal aspects of Lollardy quite unattractive. For much the greater part of the period there was enmity towards France. It was financially difficult to maintain a state of open belligerence, and, moreover, there was confusion over diplomatic purpose and military strategy. Richard II long favoured and eventually achieved an accommodation with the French. On this account, but also for other reasons, there were serious quarrels between the king and some of the most powerful of the nobility. At times, these resulted in savage proscriptions of political opponents (of which parliament was the scene), first by one party and then by the other, until, in 1399, disastrously embroiled in "the first attempt of an English king to rule as an autocrat *on principle*" (V. H. Galbraith), Richard II was deposed. His fall was brought about by an overwhelming rebellion led by his cousin, Henry of Bolingbroke (the son and heir of John of Gaunt), who replaced him on the throne. This revolution of 1399 was a shock to the monarchy, and Henry IV's reign was also an unquiet time, socially, politically, and even constitutionally. Parliament provided something of an outlet for dissatisfaction, discontent and dispute; but there was open rebellion in England, and also in Wales, and when revolts had been suppressed, there was tension and disaffection, even in the Lancastrian royal family. Early in his reign Henry V experienced a recurrence of insurrection and treachery. Following his father in 1413, he proved to be very efficient as a ruler at home and also as a soldier in France, where he soon renewed the conflict of the previous century and won considerable success. In this policy of aggression overseas he carried the nobility and the country generally with him; but Henry V died with his triumph in France patently incomplete. Without his masterful personality to guide it, his ambitious foreign policy eventually foundered: and, in the aftermath at home, what with the country's "want of governance and unwillingness to be governed" (to use Mr. Colvin's phrase), so did his dynasty. This, rudely painted in primary colours, is the backcloth of our stage.

Knights of the shire and burgesses had together been coming up to parliaments, at first spasmodically and then with a greater regularity, since 1265. By 1377 the appearance of these elected representatives of local communities, two knights from each of thirty-seven counties in England and two burgesses from each of nearly a hundred towns, had been entirely habitual for about half a century. What little we know of how knights of the shire were then elected is derived from very fragmentary evidence. The fourteenth century produced no statute relating to the manner of holding elections. Some light is thrown on their conduct in the fifteenth century when disputes occasionally followed contested elections and complaint was made to higher authority in some detail, and when remedial statutes laid down rules for the future. With regard to the later mediaeval period as a whole, an evaluation of the main forces influencing the election of knights of the shire to this parliament and to that requires some degree of reliance upon evidence that is even generally inferential, for instance, upon what is known about the careers and the social and family relationships of individual knights of the shire. One must be prepared to rate highly the personal and fortuitous elements in any single electoral situation; but there are likely to have been certain impersonal factors in operation, registering some impact on electoral proceedings. It is sometimes difficult, however, to measure that impact.

Looking at a list of the knights of the shire elected for Lincolnshire to the forty-four parliaments which met in the forty-five years between the accession of Richard II (1377) and the death of Henry V (1422), or rather to the thirty-nine for which the returns for this county are known,[1] one is immediately struck by the considerable number of local men and families represented in it: thirty-two knights of the shire elected, twenty-eight families involved. The average individual attendance of the Lincolnshire knights in this period was at between two and three parliaments[2]; but as many as nine of them (as the returns stand) sat for the county only once. Clearly, whether it was honour or burden to be chosen, election to parliament went the rounds of the Lincolnshire gentry at this time. Even so, there were notables with some influence on the life of the shire who never represented it in parliament at all. More than half of those who in this period acted as sheriffs, even part of whose official business it was to hold the shire elections, were never themselves elected; and yet many of the knights of the shire (roughly half) did act as sheriffs. If parliamentary service had been grudgingly undertaken, fewer of the sheriffs of the time, it may be imagined, would have eluded that duty. Competition was probably an important ingredient of the electoral process.

Lincolnshire was so big in area, and its gentry of substance so numerous, that dominance on the part of any family or even of any family-group was

[1] The electoral returns for Lincolnshire to the parliaments of 1410, 1415, October 1416, 1417 and 1419 have not survived.

[2] See Appendix. Nine knights of the shire sat only once; seven, twice; eight, three times; five, four times; two, five times; and one (Sir John Bussy), ten times.

rather improbable. Inevitably, some of the families to which the knights of the shire of this period belonged were related by ties of kinship or marriage: Tilneys with Rochfords and Skipwiths, Skipwiths with Hawleys, Hawleys with Copuldykes, Suthills with Pouchers. Through the Constables of Flamborough, the families of Copuldyke, Cumberworth, and Hilton were linked up. None of these connections had a compelling influence on elections. There is a surprising absence of even family tradition in parliamentary service. Of the twenty-eight families to which the known knights of the shire between 1377 and 1422 belonged, only four had supplied knights to earlier parliaments (the families of Rochford, Boys, Tothby, and Copuldyke[3]); members in the direct line of barely one out of every four of these twenty-eight families sat for the county in parliament at any later time, and even then it was often only after a long interval. No Dimmock of Scrivelsby, for instance, is known to have been returned after Sir John Dimmock (the first of the hereditary King's Champions of this name) was knight of the shire in Richard II's first parliament until the reign of Edward VI. We know of no Armyn sitting in the two centuries between 1385 and 1589. Certainly, this period under review produced no local parliamentary dynasty comparable with, say, the Stanleys and Haryngtons of Lancashire or the Vernons of Derbyshire. Within the period 1377–1422, there were only four knights whose fathers had had parliamentary experience: the father of the Sir John de Tothby who sat in the first two parliaments after the Peasants' Revolt had been elected thirty years before; Sir William Bussy had been returned for the last time less than four years before his son, Sir John, was first chosen in 1383; the father of Sir Thomas Hawley of Utterby and Girsby, who was elected in 1399 and again to the Coventry parliament of 1404, had sat in three of Edward III's later parliaments; Robert de Cumberworth was knight of the shire in 1393 and 1395, his son Thomas three times under Henry V and twice under Henry VI (between 1414 and 1437). Sir Robert and Sir Godfrey Hilton who sat for Lincolnshire just once each under Henry V (in 1416 and 1421 respectively)—the former of whom was more at home in the East Riding of Yorkshire, the latter an immigrant into Lincolnshire society as husband of the Luttrell heiress to Irnham until (as a result of a second marriage) he later came to prefer Hampshire—were the only brothers elected for Lincolnshire in this period. In only one case did the parliamentary experience of any Lincolnshire family involved in representing the county in the course of this half-century run into three consecutive generations: the son and grandson of Richard Welby, knight of the shire in the last parliament of Henry V's reign, sat for Lincolnshire in 1450 and 1472 respectively.

This is not, of course, to suggest that previous experience of parliamentary service on the part of individuals was held of no account in the Lincolnshire

[3] Sir Saier de Rochford, M.P. 1343; Sir John de Boys, M.P. 1355; Sir William de Tothby, M.P. 1351; Roger de Copuldyke, M.P. 1316.

elections of the late fourteenth and early fifteenth centuries. In only five instances between 1377 and 1422 (so far as we know) were both knights of the shire serving for the first time, and three of these five cases happened right at the beginning of this period (in 1380, 1381, and 1383), the other two thirty years later (in 1411 and 1416). The Lincolnshire electors, it may be implied, were disinclined to choose for the shire two novices, men without previous acquaintance with parliament. Statistically considered, individual re-elections seem to have been not infrequent—nineteen occasions in the elections to the thirty-nine parliaments of the period under review to which the returns are known—but half of these instances are accounted for by the recurrent re-elections of Sir John Bussy in the 1390s. His case apart, re-election was relatively unusual: and only once in the reigns of Richard II, Henry IV and Henry V did it happen that both the knights of the shire elected to one parliament were re-elected to the next. After sitting in the Cambridge parliament of 1388, Sir John Bussy and Sir Philip de Tilney were chosen to go to Westminster in January 1390.

The question of age as a qualification for parliamentary service is another general circumstance worth bearing in mind. The dates of birth of the knights of the shire of this period are only very exceptionally known, but the dates of death of all but a few can be ascertained. Such calculations suggest that middle age was more highly regarded as a qualification than youth. Half (sixteen) of the Lincolnshire knights died within fifteen years of their *first* election to parliament, and most of these (twelve) within five years of their last return. When, as happened more frequently under Henry V, a young man was elected, it was almost invariably along with someone much older.

For the greater part of this period under review, there were no statutes in being to limit the choice of knights of the shire by defining qualifications for election. The election of lawyers practising in the royal courts had been prohibited by enactment in 1372, and, at the same time, so had the election of any sheriff during his tenure of office. The former restriction on the return of men of law was limited in scope, and obviously it left plenty of room in parliament for up-country lawyers; but although a few of the Lincolnshire knights of the shire were descendants of lawyers of considerable repute, two of them being actually sons of royal judges, I have not been able safely to identify as professional lawyers themselves any at all from among the Lincolnshire parliamentary knights of this period.[4] The requirement about the

[4] Sir John de Tothby, M.P. in 1381 and May 1382, was grandson of Gilbert de Tothby, a royal serjeant-at-law from 1315 until his death in 1330, who acted as a justice of assize after Edward III's accession (R. C. Dudding, *History of Alford with Rigsby and Ailby*, p. 54 ff.).

Sir Richard Hansard was M.P. in January 1404, 1413, November 1414, May 1421 and 1423. His maternal grandfather was Chief Justice Gascoigne (*The Genealogist*, IV, 112–3).

John de Meres, M.P. in 1407, was grandson of Roger de Meres, who had been made king's serjeant-at-law in 1366–7, promoted Justice of the Common Bench in 1371 (Foss, *Judges of England*, iii, 463–5; Harleian Society, *Lincolnshire Pedigrees*, ii, 663), and who,

sheriffs gradually gained firm local support throughout the country, and certainly in this period under consideration Lincolnshire returned no acting sheriff of its own nor one from any other county.

A sense of the integrity of the county and also a feeling of respect for good family and establishment in landed possession in the county were generally uppermost, we may safely imagine, among the factors influencing the parliamentary elections in Lincolnshire to take the course they did. Certainly, the elections in this period reflect a ready acceptance of the idea that those who represented Lincolnshire should be Lincolnshire men or, if not (as very occasionally), then men who at any rate held lands and at least sometimes resided in the county. The principle of the statute of 1413, requiring actual residence in a county on the part of electors and elected alike when the writs of summons were issued, had long and constantly been observed in Lincolnshire so far as the knights-elect are concerned, and the county's sense of its "worship," a feeling for its own identity and responsibility as a community, had been exemplified without stint in the character of the men it returned to parliament long before 1445, when parliament recognized the need of a statute requiring county representatives to be "notable knights of the same counties for which they shall be chosen, or otherwise notable esquires, gentlemen born, of the same counties as shall be able to be knights, and no man to be such knight which standeth in the degree of a yeoman or under." Most of the Lincolnshire knights of the shire between 1377 and 1422 were proper, belted knights at the time of their first election, and others assumed the rank and dignity of knight bachelor before their parliamentary careers, such as they were, came to an end. (The proportion of knights by rank to esquires was three to one.) All of the knights of the shire were possessed of landed estate within the long boundary of the county, and a majority was resident in Lincolnshire and nowhere else, in spite of the fact that a fair number of them (certainly no less than one out of three) held lands outside the county, almost entirely,

---

by 1369, had also been a member of John of Gaunt's council (*John of Gaunt's Register*, ed. S. Armitage-Smith, ii, 356) and by 1372 the Duke's steward at Boston (*ibid.*, i, 67).

John Skipwith, M.P. in 1406, 1407 and April 1414, was the second son of Sir William Skipwith, who was appointed Justice of the Common Bench in 1359, held the office of Chief Baron of the Exchequer from 1362 until 1365 (when deprived), was made Chief Justice of the King's Bench in Ireland in 1370, and in 1376 was reappointed Secondary Justice of the Common Bench, from which he retired in 1388 (Foss, *op. cit.*, IV, 88–94; W. O. Massingberd, *History of the Parish of Ormsby-cum-Ketsby*, p. 67; *Lincolnshire Pedigrees, op. cit.*, iii, 895).

William Tirwhit, M.P. in March 1416, 1423 and 1426, was the son and heir of Robert Tirwhit, Justice of the King's Bench from 1409 until his death in 1428 (Foss, *op. cit.*, IV, 369; *Lincolnshire Pedigrees, op. cit.*, iii, 1018).

it may be said, in neighbouring shires.[5] Those whose outside interests prevailed over their Lincolnshire concerns were very exceptional. No more than five of the thirty-two shire-knights of this period were ever sheriffs outside Lincolnshire,[6] and rarer still were those ever elected to parliament for another county.[7] In its parliamentary representation at this time, Lincolnshire kept itself to itself, a statement which would not be true of some other counties.

Within the larger unit of the county of Lincolnshire, there then were, as there still are, regions enjoying a distinct and self-conscious identity of their own: the parts of Lindsey, of Kesteven, and of Holland. Three regions: two knights of the shire. Where, regionally, lay the most important influence on elections? Any conclusions are bound to be touched with ambiguity; but this is, nonetheless, a fair question to put. Commissions of the peace, commissions of array, commisssions to assess and collect taxes, and often commissions of sewers (that is, land-drains), were severally issued for each of the three regions, and appointments to serve on these commissions contained few coincidences of personnel. Administrative convenience had perpetuated divisions that were more basic, geographically and historically. Within the community of the county were the communities of its three regions, sometimes described as such, for example, in petitions to the king, in presenting which, although aware of their separate identity, these communities sometimes combined.[8] Now and

[5] Sir John Bozoun, occasionally M.P. between 1383 and 1386, had lands in Nottinghamshire; Walter Tailboys, M.P. 1383–8, in N. Riding, Yorkshire, and Northumberland; Sir John Bussy, M.P. 1383–98, in Nottinghamshire, Rutland and W. Riding, Yorkshire; Sir Gerard de Suthill, M.P. 1391–1402, in Nottinghamshire, and W. Riding, Yorkshire; Sir John de Copuldyke, M.P. 1397–1406, in Norfolk and Suffolk; Sir Richard Hansard, M.P. 1404–1423, in E. Riding, Yorkshire; John Poucher, M.P. 1411, in Wiltshire; Sir Thomas Cumberworth, M.P. 1414–37, in E. Riding, Yorkshire; Sir Robert Hilton, M.P. 1416, in E. Riding, Yorkshire; William Tirwhit, M.P. 1416–26, in Essex, Northamptonshire and E. Riding, Yorkshire; Sir Robert Hagbech, M.P. in 1420, in Huntingdonshire, Cambridgeshire, Norfolk and Suffolk; Sir Godfrey Hilton, M.P. in 1421, in Nottinghamshire and Yorkshire.

[6] Sir John Bozoun was sheriff of Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire in 1381–2; Sir Philip de Tilney, of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire in 1383–4; Sir Robert Hilton, of Yorkshire in 1417–8, 1423–4, 1427–8; William Tirwhit, of Yorkshire in 1435–6; Sir Robert Hagbech, of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire in 1413–4 (P.R.O., *Lists and Indexes*, no. IX, *List of Sheriffs, passim*).

[7] Sir John Bussy was elected to the parliament of 1391 for Rutland as well as for Lincolnshire (but his writ *de expensis* was addressed to the sheriff of Lincolnshire, not Rutland); Sir John de Rochford, M.P. for Lincolnshire in 1390, 1394, 1397 and 1399, was elected for Cambridgeshire to the Gloucester parliament of 1407, which proved to be his last, for he died in 1410; Sir Robert Hilton of Swine (near Hull), M.P. for Lincolnshire in 1416, was returned for Yorkshire in 1419, 1425, 1426 and 1427.

[8] In 1330 a petition to the King and Council was presented by the men of Kesteven and Holland, complaining that, although the prior of Sempringham had been appointed by the King to collect tolls from horses and carts carrying merchandise through the hamlet of St. Saviour's at Bridgend for the upkeep of the crossings, the prior had made no provision, with the result that the bridges had become so dilapidated that passage had to be by boat; and requesting that auditors should be appointed to examine his account of receipts (*Rot. Parl.*, ii, 32). Another petition, attributed to Edward III's reign, but not to be precisely dated, was put forward by the *commune* of Kesteven, Lindsey, and the citizens of Lincoln, about the destruction of fresh-water mills which, if the sails of the wind-mills were unable to turn, resulted in a want of bread in these parts (*ibid.*, 403). In 1334, *les gentz de la communalte de Kesteven* acted alone in petitioning King and Council to authorize the removal of impediments to the free flow of the Witham and the Brant (*ibid.*, 77).

then, however, one region was not above exploiting its distinctiveness at another's expense.[9] These divisions, and the differences and disputes which they bred, were of real significance, if only spasmodically manifested. In this context, allusion may also be made to the competition between Lincoln and Boston in the middle decades of the fourteenth century for possession of the status of a staple port,[10] and there are other intimations of inter-regional tension and local self-consciousness.

An examination of the results of the parliamentary elections in Lincolnshire between 1377 and 1422 reveals the interesting fact that on no more than six occasions were both of the knights of the shire from the same region of Lincolnshire.[11] On all but two of these occasions they were Lindsey men who were

[9] In March 1371, parliament granted to Edward III the sum of £50,000 to be raised by a levy of 22s. 3d. on each parish, it being understood that there were some 40,000 parishes in England. It did not take very long for it to dawn on the government—this at least is to to its credit—that the number of parishes had been optimistically exaggerated and that there were actually fewer than 9,000: and so a "shadow" parliament was specially convened to Winchester in June following to put things right. This the Winchester meeting did, by raising the charge per parish to 11 6s., and then departed. Difficulties in Lincolnshire seem to have been greater than at Winchester, so much so that in August royal letters close (*CCR*, 1369–74, 248–9) went to the Lincolnshire commissioners for the tax, ordering them to make a move, in haste and on pain of forfeiture. These last words were unusual and harsh, but justifiable: for the writ expressly alludes to the complaint of the men of Lindsey that, though the parishes of Holland were richer than their own (and those of Kesteven as well), the men of Holland refused to assist them, because, even if in the past they had been taxed with the men of Kesteven, they had never been taxed with the men of Lindsey. Now the intention of the grant had been that, in every county, the richer parishes should help the poorer, without consideration being given to county administrative divisions, such as hundreds or wapentakes, and so on. This intention was being contravened in Lincolnshire, the royal writ insisted, and the levy delayed as a result; and the collectors and overseers of the tax were ordered to ensure that the equitable design of the grant was observed. So doubtless it was, but the collectors later on thought that they were entitled to special expenses in putting an end to disagreements between the different parts of the county (if a petition, no more precisely dated than belonging to Edward III's reign, is to be attributed to the time of this upset, as I think it may) (*Rot. Parl.*, ii, 403).

Over a quite different issue, the making of criminal presentments, there was constant trouble (*altercations et debates*) between the men of Holland and Kesteven because of the uncertain whereabouts of the boundary between them in the marshlands of the Welland and the Witham, where the marks had been covered by silt and the debris of fresh-water floods. Moved by whom we know not, the Commons, in the parliament at Northampton in 1380, petitioned for a Chancery commission to renew the boundaries and to sign and mark them by pales, fosses and crosses of stone, by which men might the better tell them for what they were. Probably because of the strife of the Peasants' Revolt of the following year, nothing was done; and it was not until this petition, reproduced *verbatim*, had been submitted in the parliament of January 1390 that a commission was set up and, superintended by the sheriff (a Holland man himself), a perambulation of the bounds was held, following which the ancient metes were re-set by twelve jurors from Holland and a like number from Kesteven (*Rot. Parl.*, iii, 95, 272).

[10] P. Thompson, *The History and Antiquities of Boston and the . . . Hundred of Skirbeck*, Boston, 1856, p. 55; *Rot. Parl.*, ii, 332.

[11] From Kesteven, in 1378, Sir John Auncell (J.P. in Kesteven) and Sir William Bussy of Hougham were elected together; from Holland, in October 1382, Sir Robert de Leake of Sibsey and William Spayne of Boston (both J.P.s in Holland); from Lindsey, in 1402, Sir Henry de Retford of Castlethorpe and Sir Gerard de Suthill of Redbourne (both J.P.s in Lindsey); from Lindsey, in October 1404, Sir Henry de Retford and Sir Thomas Hawley of Utterby and Girsby (both J.P.s in Lindsey); from Lindsey, in April 1414, John Skipwith of Ormsby and Sir Thomas Cumberworth of Somerby (J.P. in Lindsey); from Lindsey, in March 1416, Sir Robert Hilton of Swine (who held the manor of Fulston and lands in Aylesby) and William Tirwhit of Kettleby and Buslingthorpe.

so returned together. The monopoly of one seat for ten years (1388–98) by Sir John Bussy of Hougham in Kesteven gave an over-all preponderance to this region under Richard II, but otherwise there was then a rough equality between the different parts. The tale is quite different after the revolution of 1399. Thereafter the balance is tilted markedly towards Lindsey, especially at the expense of Kesteven. Not once between 1399 and 1415 was a Kesteven man elected, unless it was to the single parliament in these years (that of 1410) for which the returns have been lost. In fact, to put the picture into sharper focus, we may say that from even 1388 to 1415, for more than a quarter of a century, that is, the only Kesteven man elected was Bussy. His many returns in the first half of our period result in something of a distortion. In so far as the parliamentary representation of the shire provides a valid index of any regional superiority in local politics, Lindsey was the most important region, and then came Holland. Of the thirty-two knights elected in the period regarded as a whole, fifteen were Lindsey men, eleven were from Holland, and six from Kesteven.[12] The holding of the shire elections at Lincoln may have had some effect on all this. Very likely it had; but if we remember that time and again under Richard II it was possible for two or even three elections to go by without a Lindsey man appearing in one sequence or a Holland man in another,[13] we can only regard the influence of regional feeling on any single election as a very marginal factor. On elections as they came and went there are likely to have been more potent influences directly at work.

The administration of Lincolnshire, so far as the interests of the Crown were concerned, was as in most other English counties. The local, county concerns of the central government—the holding of the judicial assizes apart—were taken care of by local men authorized by royal commission to occupy the established offices of sheriff, escheator, and justice of the peace, or to act as collectors of various royal dues, commissioners of sewers, members of committees of enquiry into abuses both public and private, and as members of other *ad hoc* tribunals of different kinds. The offices of sheriff and escheator normal changed hands once a year, but other appointments varied, most royal commissions on which local men served being, however, of limited scope and uncertain duration. A man of good local standing who belonged to a landed family with an assured place in the society of the county sooner or later was almost bound to get a royal command to do public services of one kind or another. Being chosen to perform such "chores" attested rather than created, although it might increase, his local prestige and influence. Like serving as a knight of the shire, these duties were part of the *cursus honorum* of the country gentleman.

[12] There are 31 instances of a man from Lindsey having been elected, 24 from Holland, 22 from Kesteven (Bussy's elections numbering ten).

[13] No man of Holland was elected to the parliaments of February and October 1383 and April 1384; no man of Lindsey to the parliaments of September 1388 and 1390 (January and November).

Appointment by the Crown as a justice of the peace came at some time the way of all but a very few of the Lincolnshire knights of the shire under Richard II, Henry IV, and Henry V. Possession of the commission of the peace was, however, by no means a condition or even qualification for election to parliament. In Richard II's reign, in fact, there were almost as many knights of the shire who were not J.P.s at the time of their election as were; and in each of five out of the thirteen parliaments which sat in the 1380s it so happened that neither of the two shire-knights was then on the commission of the peace in any part of Lincolnshire.[14] Such a situation only occurred once under the first two Lancastrian kings.[15] One would hesitate to suggest that the royal administration under Henry IV and Henry V, in choosing as local justices men who, as knights of the shire, evidently enjoyed some measure of local approval, was in closer sympathy than before with the needs of the county, as those needs were locally felt. (A much more subtle method of appraisal than that would be required.) But even if this were so, and a man became a sheriff, or escheator, or J.P., or took part in more casual enterprises operating by royal authority and also happened to be elected as knight of the shire, we should have to be careful not to conclude that the two sorts of recognition, the royal and the local, were necessarily connected in any politically significant way. We must guard against blandly identifying a local royal official or commissioner, or even a local retainer of the king, taking special fees as such and perhaps with interest at Court, as a royal nominee if and when he was elected to parliament, and against seeing in his election the result of some direct act of royal dictation, intervention, or interference. Rigging of elections is likely sometimes to have taken place,—at his deposition Richard II was charged with packing his last parliament, and rebels against Henry IV complained of the need for free elections—but the rigging is likely to have been in the main locally contrived by local men for their own benefit. This is not to say that it could not be managed now and then to subserve the royal along with other important interests. Whatever the particular influences working to bring about their election to parliament for the county, royal officials and retainers undoubtedly were returned from time to time as knights of the shire in the period under review. In Richard II's reign, however, these

[14] When elected to the parliament of January 1380 neither Sir William Bussy nor John de Boys was a J.P., although both had formerly held the commission of the peace, the former in Kesteven, the latter in Lindsey. Sir John de Tothby and Sir Robert de Leake were not J.P.s when returned in 1381. Leake became one in Holland a year later; but Tothby was again not a J.P. when re-elected to the parliament of May 1382, nor was his fellow-knight, Sir William Armyn. The latter was still not a J.P. when returned in 1385 along with Sir Philip de Tilney. The latter had not yet become a J.P. when elected to the Merciless Parliament of 1388; nor was his colleague on this occasion, Walter Tailboys, a J.P.

[15] Neither of the two knights of the shire in March 1416 was then a J.P. in Lincolnshire. The senior knight, Sir Robert Hilton, was a J.P. in the East Riding of Yorkshire and in the liberty of Beverley, but was never appointed to the commission in Lincolnshire. His fellow-knight, William Tirwhit, became a J.P. for Lindsey only in 1432.

occasions were few, and, in such instances as there were, the effect of an additional personal connection generally needs to be taken into the reckoning.[16]

Now and then there is evidence to suggest a close relationship between a particular knight of the shire and some member of the parliamentary peerage resident or controlling property in the county. Sir John Auncell of Poynton, elected four times running, first to Edward III's last parliament early in 1377, in October later in the same year to Richard II's first parliament, to the Gloucester parliament of 1378, and then again to Westminster in 1379, from October 1377 until his death in the autumn of 1380 the Exchequer lessee of the royal castle and manor of Somerton and a moiety of Carlton-le-Moorland at 50 marks a year (perhaps the greatest single one of the leases of royal property in Lincolnshire at this time), was a servant of Archbishop Neville of York and a justice of the peace in the archiepiscopal franchises of Beverley and Ripon as well as in Kesteven.[17] Sir John de Tothby, shire-knight in 1381 and re-elected in 1382, was the archbishop's tenant (by knight service) at Tothby and in his manors of Lissington and Rigsby.[18] Sir Walter Tailboys of Kyme, shire-knight in 1383, 1386, and in the Merciless Parliament of 1388, who was related through his mother with the Umfravilles, was to be one of

[16] William Spayne of Boston, knight of the shire at Northampton in November 1380 and in the Westminster parliament of October 1382, at these times was collector of customs and subsidies in the parts of Holland. A wool merchant himself, he had been a royal wool-factor in 1347, a purveyor of victuals for Calais in 1356 and of fish for the royal household in 1360 (*CFR, 1347–56*, 9; *ibid., 1356–68*, 4–5; *CPR 1358–61*, 451). He was a collector of the 1377 poll-tax in Boston (*CFR, 1369–77*, 389), was sheriff of Lincolnshire in 1378–9, and was again holding this office at the time of his death in the spring of 1385 (*ibid., 1377–83*, 113; *ibid., 1383–91*, 76, 93). He was deputy to the Chief Butler of England at Boston by 4 November 1382 (*CPR, 1381–5*, 180). Spayne's closest connections, however, were with the Duke of Lancaster.

Sir John de Moulton, M.P. in 1373, 1383 (October) and 1384 (April), was a former retainer and eventually an executor of Humphrey de Bohun, Earl of Hereford, Essex and Northampton (*ob.* 16 January 1373). In December 1373 he was retained by Edward III with an annuity of 100 marks, first payable at the Exchequer but in April 1375 made chargeable on the royal revenues from Lincolnshire and in January 1378 confirmed as such by Richard II (*CPR, 1370–4*, 375; *ibid., 1374–7*, 92; *ibid., 1377–81*, 111). It was almost certainly this Sir John de Moulton who was made Mayor of Bordeaux by Edward III on 9 April 1375 and apparently held office there until superseded on 18 April 1382 (T. Carte, *Catalogue des Rolles Gascons, François et Normands*, i, 162), and who by October 1384 had become lieutenant of the Marshal of England, which he still was in November 1385 (*CCR, 1381–5*, 431; *ibid., 1385–9*, 31; *CPR, 1381–5*, 509). He died in May 1388 and was buried in Lincoln Cathedral (A. Gibbons, *Early Lincoln Wills*, 62).

Sir John Bussy, M.P. in 1383 and in each of Richard II's last nine parliaments (September 1388–January 1398), sheriff of Lincolnshire in 1383–4, 1385–6 and 1390–1, was retained by Richard II as a "King's knight" on 4 December 1391 and granted an annuity of 40 marks. By 1397 he was a member of the royal Council. He had been a member of John of Gaunt's retinue, however, from about 1382, and in 1394 he became Chief Steward of the Duchy of Lancaster north of Trent. He also had his connections with the De la Poles and the Beaumont family (see my biography of Bussy in *Lincolnshire Architectural and Archaeological Society, Reports and Papers*, Vol. 7, part 1, pp. 27–45).

[17] Regarding Auncell's interest in Somerton, see *CFR, 1377–83*, 16, 221, 235; *CPR, 1377–81*, 61, 377, 564. For his connection with Archbishop Neville of York, see *CPR, 1374–7*, 224, 227, 240, 314; *ibid., 1377–81*, 47, 90–1, 97.

[18] R. C. Dudding, *op. cit.*, p. 59; *Feudal Aids*, iii, 238.

the overseers of the will of Robert Lord Willoughby of Eresby in 1396.[19] Three years later, Sir Gerald de Suthill of Redbourne, shire-knight in 1391 and 1402, was to act in a similar capacity on behalf of Philip Lord Darcy, and Sir Henry de Retford, shire-knight in 1401, 1402, and at Coventry in 1404, was his fellow-overseer of Lord Darcy's testament.[20]

The nobleman who, directly or indirectly, could exert the greatest amount of pressure on the Lincolnshire elections in the last quarter of the fourteenth century would seem to have been John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, eldest surviving son of Edward III and premier peer of England, the possessor of the great appanage of the Duchy of Lancaster, and, as such, the dispenser of an enormous patronage in offices and fees: a born schemer if an uneasy one, imaginative, thrustful, and eventually circumspect in his public policies. Although Lincolnshire saw little of his person, the ducal influence was ever present. He held, among other things, the considerable rights and lands there that had once belonged to the Lacies. By his first marriage, with Blanche of Lancaster, he had come into their title of Earl of Lincoln. He had many rent-paying tenants in the county, and also men holding their lands of him by the tenure in chivalry, which meant enjoyment of the wardship and disposal in marriage of a tenant if he succeeded when still under age. Bolingbroke Castle had been the birthplace of his son and heir, the later Henry IV. Even his mistress, Katherine Swynford, whom he eventually made his third Duchess, was a Lincolnshire lady, if only by adoption. Three out of the Duke's last five most important estate-managers (the chief stewards) north of Trent, and this during the greater part of the twenty years before his death in 1399, were Lincolnshire men.[21] It would be a matter for astonishment if Lancaster's officials or mere retainers were not to be found among the Lincolnshire knights of the shire in the later years of the fourteenth century, when the Duke's interest in politics was constantly of the keenest.

Either advantage was not always pressed or the electoral suffrages of the gentry were not always automatically commandeered, but in the first half of the reign of Richard II oftener than not a ducal official or retainer was not elected to parliament. The exceptions were Sir Ralph de Rochford, a member of the Lancastrian military retinue, who was elected in 1379[22]; William Spayne of Boston, a wool-exporter in a big way of business and, between 1367 and 1375 and again from 1377 until his death in 1385, a collector of royal customs

[19] Tailboys was a great-nephew of Gilbert de Umfraville, third Earl of Angus (*CFR, 1430–7*, 328; *CCR, 1392–6*, 102; Harleian Society, *Lincolnshire Pedigrees*, iii, 945). A. Gibbons, *op. cit.*, 91. Lord Willoughby was regularly summoned to parliament from 1376 until his death in August 1396.

[20] A. Gibbons, *op. cit.*, 98. Lord Darcy was summoned to all Richard II's parliaments, and died on 24 April 1399.

[21] Sir William Hawley of Utterby, from 1 November 1379 probably to 1386 (he was certainly in office in July 1383); Sir Philip Tilney, in office from 20 April 1389 to mid-1394; Sir John Bussy from mid-1394 until early in 1398 (R. Somerville, *History of the Duchy of Lancaster*, i, 367).

[22] *John of Gaunt's Register*, *op. cit.*, i, 32.

and subsidies in the port of Boston, who was the Duke's feodary (or warden of fees and franchises) in Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire at the time of his election as knight of the shire to the Northampton parliament of 1380 and to the second of the two Westminster parliaments of 1382, and who, on the latter occasion (at least), was also acting as purveyor of supplies of stockfish at Boston for the ducal household[23]; Sir John Bussy, one of the Duke's knights bachelor, who was elected in 1383[24]; and Sir Philip de Tilney of Tydd who was elected in 1385 and to the Merciless Parliament of 1388, when the Duke himself was in Spain.

In the second half of Richard II's reign it was a rather different story. To the Cambridge parliament of September 1388 Bussy and Tilney went up together, and also to the next parliament which met at Westminster in January 1390, Tilney by this time having been recently appointed as the Duke's steward of his estates north of Trent and as an *ex officio* member of his council.[25] This proved to be Tilney's last election, although parliament was to meet again

[23] For Spayne's activities in the export-trade in wool, see *CFR, 1347–56*, 9; *ibid., 1369–77*, 235; *ibid., 1377–83*, 41, 59; *CPR, 1350–54*, 144; *CCR, 1349–54*, 7, 344, 458, 571; *ibid., 1377–81*, 30. For his connection with John of Gaunt see *John of Gaunt's Register, 1372–76*, ed. S. Armitage Smith, i, 56, 65; ii, 27, 188; *John of Gaunt's Register, 1379–83*, ed. F. C. Lodge and R. Somerville, i, 25; ii, 58–9, 216, 256; R. Somerville, *op. cit.*, i, 128n, 376. William Spayne of Boston was feodary of the Lancastrian estates in Nottinghamshire by 3 December 1371, and by 5 February 1372 in Lincolnshire as well. He occupied both offices concurrently until June 1384. His office of feodary or steward of fees in Lincolnshire was renewed by indenture on 7 April 1383, during the Duke's pleasure; the lordship of Bolingbroke and the Fens were excluded from his commission, but he was to be surveyor of all bailiffs elsewhere in the county. See note 16 above.

[24] *John of Gaunt's Register*, ed. S. Armitage Smith, i, 9.

[25] Tilney was appointed Chief Steward in the northern parts of the Duchy of Lancaster on 20 April 1389 and held office until his death shortly before 18 July 1394, when his will was proved (R. Somerville, *op. cit.*, i, 125n, 367; A. Gibbons, *op. cit.*, 83). He had been made deputy to the King's Chief Butler at Boston by November 1378 (*CPR, 1377–81*, 282), following his brother Frederick, merchant of Boston, who had also been collector of customs and subsidies at Boston in 1351–4, 1363–5, 1372 and 1377. Sir Philip retained the deputy-butlership until November 1382. He was heriff of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire in 1383–4 and of Lincolnshire in 1386–7 (*CFR, 1383–91*, 7, 151). On 11 March 1390 he was made a J.P. in the Lancastrian liberties in Yorkshire, three days after being appointed a commissioner of oyer and terminer, following a complaint by the Duke of Lancaster of long continued infringements of his franchisal rights in the castle and bailey of Lincoln by the civic authorities (*CPR, 1388–92*, 140, 220, 270), and on 11 May following he was again made a special commissioner at Lincoln, regarding an alleged persistent invasion of the dean and chapter's rights of jurisdiction over the cathedral close, again by the mayor and bailiffs of the city (*ibid.*, 271). He served on a considerable number of royal commissions, for example, on those of array and of sewers. Early in 1386 he was made an executor of Richard de Ravenser, an important Chancery clerk who had been keeper of the hanaper of the Chancery from 1357 to 1379, treasurer to Queen Philippa from 1362 to 1367, and archdeacon of Lincoln from 1368 (*CCR, 1389–92*, 148; A. Gibbons, *op. cit.*, 68); and in July 1391 Sir Robert Swillington, chamberlain to John of Gaunt in 1376–7, also made Tilney an executor of his will (A. Gibbons, *op. cit.*, 77; R. Somerville, *op. cit.*, i, 364). In 1387, 1388 and 1389, Tilney was Alderman of the Gild of Corpus Christi in Boston, of which his brother, his brother's wife, and his own wife and children were members (P. Thompson, *op. cit.*, 117; *CPR, 1388–92*, 9). He was also one of those tenants of Richard II's Queen, Anne of Bohemia, who were licensed on 23 September 1392 to establish the Gild of St. Mary and a gild-chantry in Boston parish church (*CPR, 1388–92*, 192, 195). It was in the churchyard at Boston that Tilney elected to be buried, according to the terms of his will, which, drawn on 4 April 1394, was proved by the Bishop of Lincoln on 18 July following (A. Gibbons, *op. cit.*, 83).

four times before he died in 1394; but Bussy of Hougham quite monopolized one of the county seats until his execution at Bristol in July 1399, shortly before Richard II's deposition. Although, in 1391, Bussy became a *royal* retainer for life with a substantial fee of 40 marks a year charged on the king's revenues in Lincolnshire, and eventually was an intimate member of the royal council and, perhaps one may say, permanent Speaker in parliament, he remained so influential a member of the Lancastrian entourage as to be promoted to follow Tilney as chief steward in the northern parts of the Duchy, an office which he continued to hold until the end of his parliamentary career, although not to the end of his life.[26] Bussy was no ordinary man. Long-standing retainer of John of Gaunt and now a retainer of Richard II too, he was a great power in Lincolnshire, and in the country at large he was a figure of some political stature: a symbol of that alliance between the still young, increasingly ambitious and autocratic king and the eldest of his royal uncles, upon the continuation of which in the 1390s to a large extent depended the internal peace of the kingdom.

It is worth noting that none of the four men who were Bussy's later fellow knights of the shire in Richard II's reign—John de Rochford (in November 1390, 1394, September 1397), Gerard de Suthill (in 1391), Robert de Cumberworth (in 1393, 1395), Sir John de Copuldyke (in January 1397)—was a retainer of the king, but that certainly one and almost certainly another two were members of the Lancastrian affinity. Evidence of this is the alacrity with which, in one way and another, Henry of Bolingbroke, Lancaster's heir, recognized their existence, or perhaps we should say their support, after his return from banishment to claim the inheritance of which Richard II had dispossessed him on Lancaster's death early in 1399, and when he had made himself king. Rochford, Suthill, and Copuldyke all sat (by special summons) in great councils assembled by Henry IV in the early years of his reign, as well as in one or another of his earliest parliaments.[27] Sir John de Rochford, a kinsman of Sir Philip Tilney (we may note), went as shire-knight to Henry IV's first parliament in 1399 and was there and then re-appointed steward of the Duchy of Lancaster honour of Bolingbroke, continuing to hold this post until May 1407. He had already been John of Gaunt's steward in the manor of Ingoldmells in 1395–6. His brother, Ralph, had long been a member of Henry IV's personal company, even in the days of his expeditions to Prussia and Lithuania and the Holy Land in the early 1390s, and was now one of the

[26] Bussy had been replaced in the chief stewardship by the spring of 1398.
[27] *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, ed. N. H. Nicolas, i, 158, 160.

select group of the knights of the King's Chamber.[28] Gerard de Suthill of Redbourne, who was to be for a second time knight of the shire in Henry IV's third parliament in 1402, was knighted by Henry in the Tower on the eve of his coronation.[29] Sir John de Copuldyke of Harrington (near Spilsby), who was to be elected to the Westminster parliaments of 1401, 1404 and 1406, was Henry's first appointee to the shrievalty of Lincolnshire on 22 August 1399, that is, over a month before Richard II's deposition had even been accomplished.[30]

After 1399, when Henry IV possessed the Duchy of Lancaster as his own private inheritance and kept its administration separate from that of the Crown-lands, no proper duchy official of importance was elected for Lincolnshire to any of the parliaments of Henry IV and Henry V for which the returns have survived. But a majority of the knights of the shire for Lincolnshire under Henry IV were certainly retainers of his, and, whatever its dimensions and by whatever methods its influence was brought to bear, the duchy interest in the county is likely to have helped promote their election. The man who accompanied Sir John de Copuldyke to Westminster in 1401 and Sir Gerard de Suthill in 1402, and who went to the Coventry parliament of 1404 along with Sir Thomas Hawley of Utterby and Girsby (now himself retained as a king's

[28] R. Somerville, *op. cit.*, i, 575; *Lincolnshire Notes and Queries*, VII, 173. Regarding Sir Ralph de Rochford, see *Expeditions to Prussia and the Holy Land made by Henry, Earl of Derby, 1390–1 and 1392–3*, ed. L. Toulmin-Smith (pp. 51, 123, 131, 133, 138, 265) and Exchequer, Q.R., Accounts Various, Wardrobe, P.R.O., E.101/404/21. Sir John was sheriff of Lincolnshire in 1391–2, 1400–1 and 1409–10; Sir Ralph, in 1404–5 and 1407–8. Sir John served on many casual royal commissions, and under Henry IV was made a J.P. in Kesteven as well as Holland. On 18 February 1400 he was given for life the office of steward of all the Lincolnshire estates of the late Thomas Holland, Earl of Kent, Richard II's nephew, who had recently been executed for treason by the men of Cirencester (*CPR, 1399–1401*, 201). On 17 August 1401, Bishop Fordham of Ely made him (for life) constable of the castle of Wisbech and steward of his hallmoots and leets there and in certain episcopal lordships in Norfolk, appointments which were confirmed under the Great Seal (*ibid.*, 534). John Rochford was Alderman of the Corpus Christi Gild of Boston in 1381–6, 1391–4, 1397–9 and 1409. A collector of historical notes to the last, he died on 13 December 1410 (*Dictionary of National Biography*, XVII, 74).

[29] C. L. Kingsford, *Chronicles of London*, p. 48. While M.P. in 1402, Suthill was made sheriff of Lincolnshire (on 29 November). Between February 1385 and February 1386 only was he a J.P. in the East Riding of Yorkshire, but he was on the commission of the peace in Lindsey from February 1392 to November 1399 and from May 1401 until his death on 1 August 1410. He served on many occasional commissions.

[30] Sir John de Copuldyke had already been sheriff of Lincolnshire in 1393–4 and M.P. in January 1397. He became a J.P. in Holland in May 1401 and served until his death in 1408, in the meantime campaigning with Henry IV as a "King's knight" in the war in Wales against Owen Glendower (*CPR, 1401–5*, 307) and acting as escheator in Lincolnshire in 1406–7. He was a feoffee of William Lord Willoughby of Eresby in certain estates in Northants, Cambs. and Suffolk (*CCR, 1409–13*, 17, 20). He joined the Corpus Christi Gild of Boston between 1405 and his death (P. Thompson, *op. cit.*, 118). For Sir John's will, see A. Gibbons, *op. cit.*, 114. Dated Palm Sunday 1408, it was proved at Sleaford on 3 May following.

knight with a fee of £40 a year)[31] was Sir Henry de Retford of Castlethorpe and Carleton Paynell. A member of the army which John of Gaunt had taken to Spain in 1386 as well as (since November 1393) a retainer of Richard II, Retford had found no difficulty in changing sides in 1399 and not over much trouble in getting his existing royal annuity confirmed by the new king.[32] On the second of these three occasions of parliamentary service (in 1402) Retford was Speaker for the Lower House. He had served in Henry IV's campaign in Scotland and, more recently, had been active in the royal expeditions against the great rising in Wales under Owen Glendower. He was again to be in the field with Henry IV in 1405 when a royal army went north into Yorkshire to suppress the rebellion that was led by Archbishop Scrope of York and the young Earl Marshal (Thomas Mowbray), being then, in fact, one of the tribunal—a sort of court-martial—which pronounced sentence of execution against them. Of the remaining five men who sat in parliament for Lincolnshire in Henry IV's reign, none received special fees as a royal retainer; but Sir Richard Hansard of South Kelsey, who went up to Westminster in

[31] Sir Thomas Hawley had already been M.P. for Lincolnshire in Henry IV's first parliament of 1399. His father, Sir William, when already a firm retainer of John of Gaunt, had been appointed on 1 November 1379 as chief steward of the Duchy of Lancaster north of Trent (excluding Lancashire) and, although superseded before he died at Bayonne in Aquitaine in 1387, was still in office in July 1383 (R. Somerville, *op. cit.*, i, 367; *John of Gaunt's Register, 1379–83, op. cit.*, i, 9, 14; ii, 331). Sir Thomas was as a member of Henry IV's expedition to Scotland in the summer of 1400, and on 8 May 1401, by way of recompense and as a "King's knight," was granted for life an annuity of £40, charged on the royal Exchequer (*CPR, 1399–1401*, 486). Immediately afterwards, he was made a J.P. in Lindsey and served until July 1408, except when he was sheriff of Lincolnshire (November 1405–6). He continued to be a royal retainer in the next reign (*ibid., 1413–6*, 225) and joined Henry V's first expedition to Normandy in 1415, fighting in the Agincourt campaign with a retinue of two men-at-arms and six archers. Pledges for repayment of his wages, including a sword decorated with ostrich feathers (valued at £22) which had been Henry V's when he was Prince of Wales, were not redeemed in favour of Hawley's executors until 1430–1 (N. H. Nicolas, *The Battle of Agincourt*, 380; App., 17). Sir Thomas had died between 29 June 1419 (the date of his will, for which see *The Register of Archbishop Chichele*, ed. E. F. Jacob, ii, 191–5) and 20 May 1420 (when probate was allowed at Lambeth in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury in the Archbishop's presence). It is worth noting that Sir Thomas and his fellow-M.P. in 1404, Sir Henry de Retford, had been associated in 1387 as executors to Sir Thomas's father, Sir William Hawley (Lincolnshire County Record Office, MS. Register of Bishop Buckingham of Lincoln, fol. 341^{v}).

[32] Having served on Richard II's expedition to Scotland in 1385 with a retinue of one man-at-arms and two archers (*English Historical Review*, LXXIII, N. B. Lewis, "The Last Medieval Summons of the English Feudal Levy, 13 June 1385," 19), Retford had taken out "letters of general attorney" on 12 April 1386 as being about to accompany John of Gaunt's expedition to Spain. He certainly went, for he was at Bayonne in Gascony in June 1387 (see the last reference in the previous note). He was sheriff of Lincolnshire for only four weeks in November–December 1389 and again (for the usual year of office) from October 1392 to November 1393, immediately after which Richard II retained him for life at 40 marks a year. Between September 1394 and April 1395 he was with Richard II's army in Ireland, and in April 1397 went on a royal embassy to Paris, Avignon and Rome, the unrealized aim of which was to end the papal schism. In the following year, November 1397–8, he was again sheriff. His royal annuity was renewed for life on 25 February 1401, after service in Scotland in the previous year. He was once more sheriff of Lincolnshire in 1406–7. He died shortly before June 1409. (For references and further details of Retford's career, see my biography in *Lincolnshire Architectural and Archaeological Society, Reports and Papers*, Vol. 7, part 2).

January 1404, was a Duchy of Lancaster tenant.[33] John Skipwith of Ormsby, who sat in successive parliaments in 1406 and 1407, in the interval between which he became controller of customs and subsidies at Boston, was uncle to William Lord Willoughby of Eresby, and his son married Lord Willoughby's daughter.[34] Evidently, this family connection was a close one. Lord Willoughby had supported Henry of Bolingbroke in the rebellion which brought him to the throne and was a member of the royal council. Sir Thomas de Willoughby, this Lord Willoughby's brother, who in 1411 was elected to the first parliament to meet after the peer's death, had been until recently one of two partners sharing the right to farm the petty customs at King's Lynn since the beginning of the reign.[35] Hansard, Skipwith and Willoughby were all again returned to parliament in the reign of Henry V.

Whatever influence on elections the Bishop of Lincoln was able to exert in these years is likely to have assisted those who stood well with the king.

[33] *Feudal Aids*, iii, 269. Sir Richard Hansard was also M.P. for Lincolnshire in the parliaments of 1413, November 1414, May 1421 and 1423. He was a J.P. in Lindsey from 1406 to 1423 and from 1424 to 1432, royal escheator in Lincolnshire in 1415–6, and sheriff in 1419–20. In September 1407 he had acted with Suthill as arbiter between the priory of Newstead-on-Ancolm and its tenants in the manor of Cadney Howsham. In October 1411 at Wrawby he had supported Justice Tirwhit at a "love-day" between him and William Lord Roos. According to a petition presented in the next parliament (November 1411), Tirwhit admitted to bringing a threateningly large retinue and force to the meeting, asked the King's pardon and offered to apologize to his opponent. He also undertook to take Sir Richard Hansard and a few other friends to make a special apology to Lord Roos at Belvoir Castle for their part in the affair (*Rot. Parl.*, iii, 649–51). In November 1414 Hansard had farmed (for £8 a year, payable in the Exchequer) the estates of the alien priory of Winhale, a cell (in his own parish of South Kelsey) of the Norman abbey of Séez, the lease being renewed for 24 years in 1423 (*CFR, 1413–22*, 81; *ibid., 1422–30*, 65). He served on a number of local royal commissions, for example, of array, of sewers, and for raising Crown loans. He died in 1428.

[34] John Skipwith, second son of William Skipwith, a justice of the Common Bench, became the controller of customs and subsidies at Boston on 1 March 1407, was confirmed in office at Gloucester on 3 November following but superseded a few weeks later (on 17 December following) (*CPR, 1405–8*, 297, 373, 382). His sister Alice married Robert, fourth Baron Willoughby, and was mother of William, the fifth Baron. The latter's daughter married John Skipworth's son Thomas (W. O. Massingberd, *History of the Parish of Ormsby-cum-Ketsby*, 67, 81; *Harleian Society, Lincolnshire Pedigrees*, iii, 895). John Skipwith's wife was Alice, daughter of Sir Frederick Tilney of Boston, and he had close relations with the Tilney family. He was also apparently on good terms with his sister Margaret and her husband, Sir Henry Vavasour of Hazlewood (Yorks.) and Cockerington (Lincs.): in 1414 Sir Henry left him a black horse, and in 1415 his sister bequeathed him all her nets for catching fish and foxes (Surtees Society, *Testamenta Eboracensia*, i, 363). In 1397 Skipwith had been seriously at odds with John Lord Welles (*CCR, 1396–99*, 130). He also had a dispute, in 1414, with Sir Thomas Hawley over the will of Thomas Mussenden esquire, of which Skipwith was an executor (*ibid., 1413–9*, 188–9; N. H. Nicolas, *Testamenta Vetusta*, 162), in spite of the fact that one of his sons, Patrick Skipwith, had married one of Hawley's daughters, and that Hawley had been one of his feoffees (J. O. Massingberd, *op. cit.*, 74–5). John Skipwith was sheriff of Lincolnshire in 1394–5 and a J.P. in Lindsey from May 1404 to February 1407, and he served on a number of other, more casual royal commissions in the county. He was M.P. in 1406, 1407 (at Gloucester) and in 1414 (at Leicester). He died on 15 July 1415 and was buried at Covenham (J. O. Massingberd, *loc. cit.*).

[35] Sir Thomas de Willoughby of Boston, M.P. for Lincolnshire in 1411 and 1414 (November), was the third son of Robert Lord Willoughby of Eresby who died in 1396. After being divorced in 1381 from Katherine, daughter of Sir Thomas Friskney (A. Gibbons, *op. cit.*, 91), he married Elizabeth, a daughter of his step-mother Elizabeth (herself the daughter of William Lord Latimer) by her first husband, John Lord Neville of Raby (*The Complete Peerage*, ed. H. A. Doubleday and Lord Howard de Walden, vii, 474–9;

Bishop Buckingham, in origin a professional civil servant, who came to the see in 1363, had been politically of little account long before his resignation in 1397. But his successor, Henry Beaufort, who was bishop until 1404, was Henry IV's half-brother, and young Beaufort's successor, Philip Repingdon, was Henry IV's confessor and close friend. No particular member of the episcopal household or retinue during this period, however, has it been found possible to identify among the parliamentary representatives of Lincolnshire.

The reign of Henry V (1413–22) saw the resumption of the war against France with a greater measure of studied concentration of purpose and of urgent activity than had characterized even its successful episodes in the previous century. The war entailed long periods of absence on campaign on the part of the king and of many of the more energetic members of the nobility and of the gentry of the country as a whole. What effect this had on the parliamentary representation of Lincolnshire between 1415 and 1419, we cannot say, because the accidental gaps in the electoral returns to the parliaments of these years are unfortunately especially wide for this county. (For only one of the five parliaments which met in these years have they survived, that of March 1416). But the continued absence of the type of royal retainer which had so prominently figured in the county representation in the first half of Henry IV's reign, is worth noting among the knights of the shire whose names happen to have come down to us. Although more young men than had generally been the case served in those parliaments of Henry V's reign for which we have returns for Lincolnshire, only one of them is known to have joined Henry V's first expedition to France in 1415 when he took Harfleur and humiliated the French army at Agincourt:[36] William Tirwhit of Kettleby

[36] Sir Thomas Hawley (M.P. in 1399 and 1404) and Sir Thomas de Willoughby (M.P. in 1411 and 1414) were members of the royal retinue for Henry V's first French expedition, but neither was a young man.

Papal Letters, V, 129; *CPR, 1452–61*, 396; A. Gibbons, *op. cit.*, 90–1). Thomas may well have been "the lorde Willuby brother" who was knighted by Henry IV on 12 October 1399, the eve of his coronation (C. L. Kingsford, *Chronicles of London*, 48). Certainly he had been knighted by 17 December 1399, when he and John Toup were given the right to farm the petty customs at Lynn for five years (as from Michaelmas 1399) for an annual sum of £114 payable in the Exchequer, a grant which was extended on 28 October 1404 for six years (as from Easter 1404) (*CFR, 1399–1405*, 32, 281). His fellow-farmer at Lynn was in the custody of the sheriffs of London in March 1405 when, as a royal debtor, he was ordered to be transferred to the Fleet prison (*CCR, 1402–5*, 448). Sir Thomas himself was twice pardoned outlawry, once in January 1404 for debt to a London mercer, again in November 1414 for a debt to a London draper (*CPR, 1401–5*, 339; *ibid., 1413–6*, 215). He had been sheriff of Lincolnshire in 1403–4, his brother, William Lord Willoughby, being one of his sureties (*CFR, 1399–1405*, 231), and he was a J.P. in Holland from May 1406 to February 1407 and from February 1412 until his death in 1417. He was also made a commissioner for sewers between Boston and Wainfleet and in Lindsey in November 1410, and in Holland in February 1412. On 5 July 1415 he took out royal "letters of protection" as being about to accompany Henry V, as a member of his retinue, on his first expedition to France. In 1404 and 1416 he was Alderman or Warden of the Gild of St. George in Boston (*CPR, 1401–5*, 388; *ibid., 1416–22*, 62), and he held the same office in the Gild of Corpus Christi there in 1406 and 1407 (P. Thompson, *op. cit.*, 118). (For a brief abstract of his will, dated 20 August 1417, see A. Gibbons, *op. cit.*, 145.)

(near Brigg) and Buslingthorpe (near Market Rasen); and Tirwhit's retinue comprised no more than three unmounted archers.[37] This was the period in which the Hiltons of Swine (in Holderness) got elected, Sir Robert[38] to the parliament of March 1416, Sir Godfrey[39] to that of May 1421, the former seemingly making do with election in Lincolnshire and perhaps exploiting

[37] William Tirwhit, son of Robert Tirwhit, Justice of the King's Bench, was M.P. for Lincolnshire in 1416, 1423 and 1426. As an esquire, he served in Henry V's retinue on the French expedition of 1415 (N. H. Nicolas, *The Battle of Agincourt*, 385), and in 1420–1, by which time he had been knighted, he was made captain of Montjoie, St. Germain-en-Laye, and Poissy (T. Carte, *op. cit.*, i, 353). He probably did not campaign abroad after Henry V's death in 1422, certainly not continuously, but it was not until 1428 that he began to be appointed to local royal commissions. He was a J.P. in Lindsey from July 1432 until his death in 1450–1, in the meantime acting as sheriff of Yorkshire in 1435–6. Sir William's mother was Alice, daughter of Roger Kelke of Kelke (Yorks.) and Barnetby (near Brigg, Lincs.), and his wife was Constance, daughter of Sir Anselin St. Quinton of Brandsburton (near Beverley, Yorks.). His Yorkshire ties were probably strong: he founded a chantry at Beverley Minster. He also built a chantry-chapel at Higham (in Walthamstow, Essex) and a hospital of two chaplains and seven poor bedesmen at Glanford-Brigg (in Wrawby, Lincs.) (*CPR, 1441–6*, 41). His main estates were in Lincolnshire: the manors of Buslingthorpe, Kettleby Thorpe, Firsby, Nettleton, Bigby and Wrawby, and lands in Stallingborough, Scawby, Ingham, Fillingham and Elsham (*Feudal Aids*, iii, *passim*).

[38] Sir Robert Hilton, M.P. for Lincolnshire in 1416 and for Yorkshire in 1419, 1425, 1426 and 1427, was sheriff of Lincolnshire in 1414–5 and of Yorkshire in 1417–8, 1423–4 and 1427–8. He held lands in Lincolnshire at Fulstow (near Lough) and Aylesby (near Grimsby), but usually he lived at Swine in Holderness (*Feudal Aids*, iii, 261, 354, 362). As a "King's esquire," he was granted for life by Henry IV on 7 November 1399 a retaining fee of £32 a year, chargeable on the wool-customs of Hull (*CPR, 1399–1401*, 63). This royal annuity was confirmed in June, 1413 and February, 1423 (*ibid., 1413-16*, 43; *ibid., 1422–9*, 55). In the meantime, Hilton served on many local royal commissions, mainly in the East Riding of Yorkshire, being a J.P. there and in the liberty of St. John of Beverley from 1401 until 1424, in the West Riding also in 1414–5, and in Yorkshire as a whole in 1419. He was never a J.P. in Lincolnshire. He died sometime between 7 December 1429, when he made his will, and 22 December 1431, when it was proved at York. He left no male issue, two daughters being his coheirs. His wife Joan, daughter of Sir Robert and sister of Sir Marmaduke Constable of Flamborough, died a widow in 1432 (Surtees Society, *Testamenta Eboracensia*, ii, 16, 23).

[39] Sir Godfrey Hilton, M.P. for Lincolnshire in May 1421, by his marriage with Hawise, daughter of Sir Andrew Luttrell, sister and heir of Sir Godfrey Luttrell of Irnham, and widow of Sir Thomas de Beelsby (who died in 1415), came into lands in Lincolnshire (at Irnham, Horsington, and Stickford), Yorkshire (at Hooton Pagnell) and Nottinghamshire (at West Bridgford and Holme Pierpoint) (A. C. Sinclair, *A History of Beelsby*, p. 26; *Feudal Aids*, iii, 341; *CFR, 1413–22*, 277, 425; *CCR, 1422–9*, 8). Hawise died on 24 March 1422. Sometime between 1426 and 1436, Sir Godfrey married Eleanor, daughter of John Lord Welles and widow of Hugh, son of Thomas de Poynings, Lord St. John, of Basing (Hants.), as a result of which marriage he lived at Chawton (Hants.) as well as at Irnham (*The Complete Peerage*, ed. G. H. White, XI, 330). Besides Chawton, he held, in right of his wife, the manors of Shirborne St. John and Abbotston and the advowson of Selbourne Priory (Hants.) and the manors of Barnham, Bridham and Middleton (Sussex) (*CCR, 1454–61*, 374–5). He continued to hold (by the courtesy) his first wife's lands in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire until his death in 1459 (*CFR, 1452–61*, 248), and he also held land in his own family's Yorkshire estates at Swine and Winestead (in Holderness) after his brother Sir Robert's death (*CPR, 1429–36*, 275). Sir Godfrey seems to have made something of a military career under Henry V and Henry VI, royal letters of protection or of general attorney being issued to him, as being about to proceed to France, in 1418, 1421, 1423, 1424, 1433 and 1434 (T. Carte, *op. cit.*, ii, 235, 242, 249, 256, 279, 282). In May 1425 when the muster of his retinue (among others) was ordered to be held at Dover and Calais, it numbered no fewer than 40 men-at-arms and 120 archers (*CPR, 1422–9*, 299, 302). It may well have been military preoccupations which largely prevented his appointment to any royal commissions at all until 1442 when he first became a J.P. in Hampshire, an office which he retained until his death in 1459. In 1446 he also became a J.P. in Kesteven, where he continued to serve until November 1458 (*CPR, passim*).

his very recent status as sheriff. (Sir Robert had been sheriff of Lincolnshire from 10 November 1414 to 1 December 1415.) He was not even a justice of the peace in Lincolnshire, nor in 1421 was his brother, Sir Godfrey. Most of the other knights of the shire of Henry V's reign were J.P.s, but they do not seem to be a very interesting lot.[40] Generally, they appear to have been content with the "small change" of squirearchal experience. Sir Thomas Cumberworth of Somerby, knight of the shire in the Leicester parliament of 1414 and the Westminster parliaments of 1420 and December 1421 and (later on) of 1425 and 1437, is an exception. He was soon (in December 1422) to be required by Henry VI's Council to take charge of Charles, Duke of Orleans, the most important of the royal prisoners of war taken at Agincourt, which he did from May 1423, and, after Orleans (in December 1429), of John, Duke of Bourbon, who died in his custody in January 1434.[41] Sir Godfrey Hilton of Irnham is another exception.

[40] For John Bell, M.P. in 1413, see pages 72-3 and note 44; for Sir Richard Hansard, M.P. in 1413, 1414 (November), and 1421 (May), note 33; for John Skipwith, M.P. in 1414 (April), note 34; for Sir Thomas Cumberworth, M.P. in 1414 (April), 1420 and 1421 (December), note 41; for Sir Thomas de Willoughby, M.P. in 1414 (November), note 35.

Sir Robert Hagbech, M.P. in 1420, held the manor of Hagbech Hall in Whaplode and lands in Holbeach (Lincs.), Washingley (Hunts.), Litlington (Cambs.), and also in Norfolk and Suffolk (*Feudal Aids*, ii, 476; vi, 408; *CCR, 1409–13*, 14; *CFR, 1437–45*, 302). He was a J.P. in Holland from June 1410 to February 1412 and from November 1413 to July 1424, in the meantime acting as sheriff of Cambridgeshire and Huntingdonshire in 1413–4. He was sometimes a royal commissioner for sewers, arrays and Crown loans, mainly in Holland (*CPR, passim*). In June 1406 he had been embroiled with Sir John Littlebury, William Lord Roos and William Lord Willoughby standing surety in Chancery for his good behaviour (*CCR, 1405–9*, 134). A retainer of the Duke of Clarence, Sir John Colville, in 1420 made him one of his feoffees in lands in the Isle of Ely and Norfolk (*ibid., 1419–22*, 107).

Richard Welby, of Moulton, M.P. in 1421 (December), was the son of Roger Welby, who was sheriff of Lincolnshire in 1396–7 and died in 1410, and brother of Adelard Welby, B.C.L. (A. Gibbons, *op. cit.*, 144). Frequently a commissioner for sewers in Holland from 1411, and sometimes also in Kesteven, he only became a J.P. (in Holland) in February 1422, but he remained a J.P. until March 1444. In 1412 he was a member of the Gild of Holy Trinity in Boston (*CPR, 1408–13*, 362). He was sworn to keep the peace along with many other Lincolnshire notables in 1434. He died in 1455. His son (Richard) and grandson (another Richard) were M.P.s for Lincolnshire, respectively, in 1450 and 1472.

[41] N. H. Nicolas, *Proceedings and Ordinances of the Privy Council*, iii, 10, 79, 134; iv, 44, 51, 201; *Rot. Parl.*, IV, 339, 438; *CPR, 1429–36*, 461. Sir Thomas Cumberworth, M.P. for Lincolnshire in 1414 (April), 1420, 1421 (December), 1425 and 1437, was the son and heir of Sir Robert de Cumberworth, M.P. in 1393 and 1395. Sir Thomas was a J.P. in Lindsey from January 1414 to February 1416 and from February 1419 to his death in 1451, in the meantime being sheriff of Lincolnshire in 1415–6 and 1430–1. He served on many royal commissions in Lincolnshire, especially commissions of array and for raising Crown loans. It was during his second shrievalty that, in January 1431, a settlement was made in a dispute (over tenements in Theddlethorpe and elsewhere in Lincolnshire) between Walter Tailboys senior and Sir John Keighley, Keighley being supported by Humphrey, Duke of Gloucester. Cumberworth had clearly been Tailboys' friend in this business (*CCR, 1422–9*, 329; *ibid., 1429–35*, 110, 114–5). Later in the same year (in March) he backed up Hamond Sutton, a merchant-stapler of Lincoln, when Sutton had to undertake to appear in Chancery to answer certain demands of his fellow-staplers at Calais (*ibid.*, 112). Cumberworth made his will on 15 February 1451 and died shortly afterwards, being buried at Somerby where he had established a chantry. He made (among others) small bequests to Cardinal Kemp, Lord Cromwell and members of his own family and household. The will contained the unusual provision that "my body ly still, my mowth opyn unhild [uncovered] XXIV owrys, and after laid on bere withowtyn anythyng y opon to covert bot a shert and a blak cloth with a white crosse of cloth of gold, bot I wyl my kyste [chest, coffin] be made and stande by, and at my bereall giff it to hym that fillis my grave"(A. Gibbons, *op. cit.*, 174).

The later parliaments of Henry V sometimes did little more than pass time, and perhaps this generated an apathy which had its effect on the quality of the men elected, in Lincolnshire as well as elsewhere. With the king, and also most of the great men who counted, out of reach, it may have seemed to many that, for the time being, there was likely to be little of interest in parliamentary service, and those knights and esquires whose names were something to conjure with in politics either actually were, or seem to have been, "otherwise engaged" when parliaments met in the last few years before Henry V's death, except when in the parliament of May–June 1421 the king himself was at home in England and present—the only one of the last five parliaments of his reign which he attended. This was when young Sir Godfrey Hilton was returned for Lincolnshire. His homage for his wife's lands at Irnham and elsewhere was taken while he was up at Westminster. Four years later (in 1425) he was to go to France to join the Duke of Bedford, the Regent, with a very large retinue of forty men-at-arms and one hundred and twenty archers. His main future interests were no more to be in Lincolnshire than his origins had been.[42]

Of the knights of the shire of this period of the early fifteenth century, the least socially estimable in the eyes of his contemporaries may well have been the man who was elected (along with Sir Richard Hansard) to Henry V's first parliament, held at Westminster in May 1413: John Bell, merchant of Boston, who, so far as is known, sat only this once. As long ago as 1383 he had been appointed the king's receiver-general for the estates of the earldom of Richmond in Lincolnshire.[43] From 1390 until 1420, apart from a few months in 1401 and between February 1410 and April 1413, Bell was a collector, in the port of Boston and in the customs-area between Wisbech and Grimsby, of either tunnage and poundage or the customs and subsidies on exported wool, other staple commodities, and cloth, and the petty customs; for the greater part of these thirty years he was collector of *all* these various royal imposts levied on merchandise passing into or out of that port and its district.[44] In the first year or so of Henry IV he had been the king's alnager, that is, official inspector and measurer of cloth manufactured for the market and collector of the fees for this service, in the parts of Holland.[45] Two years passed, and in November

[42] See above, note 39.

[43] *CFR, 1383–91*, 5, 22.

[44] John Bell was one of the two collectors of the petty customs, the wool customs, and the subsidy on cloth at Boston from May 1390 to February 1397, from August 1401 to May 1403, from December 1404 to October 1405, from February 1407 to February 1410, and from April 1413 to October 1420; and he was one of the two collectors of tunnage and poundage between June 1390 and March 1401, between March 1403 and February 1410, and between April 1413 and October 1420 (*CFR, passim*). His occupation of these two offices of revenue-collection coincided between June 1390 and February 1397, March and May 1403, December 1404 and October 1405, February 1407 and February 1410, and between April 1413 and October 1420.

[45] *CFR, 1399–1405*, 38, 89 (Bell held the office of alnager from 17 October 1399 to 30 November 1400).

1402 he became deputy at Boston to the Chief Butler of England, whose job it was to control the royal rights of prisage of wines in the ports and to buy for the royal household.[46] Two years later still, and in 1404–5 Bell was the king's escheator in the county as a whole.[47] On and off, during the last twenty years of his life, he was a justice of the peace in Holland.[48] He obviously had a head for business and, as doubtless he profited others, so clearly he profited himself. He lived in Boston and became Alderman of the Corpus Christi Gild, holding this socially attractive position for three years together, from 1395 to 1398.[49] As far as is known, he held no land outside the town in his own clear right; but as early as in 1392 he had had the wherewithal to lease for ten years from the trustees of Richard II's Queen (Anne of Bohemia) the manor of Wykes in Donington (between Boston and Spalding), a parcel of the Lincolnshire lands of the honour of Richmond (of which Boston itself was a member, and of which he himself may still have been receiver-general), at the seemingly very high rent of £100 a year.[50] Following this, soon after Henry IV's accession (in November 1399), he had acquired the wardship of a third of the manors of Skirbeck and Beausolace and, later again (in June 1408), the wardship of lands in Algerkirk and Fossdyke, all of which were also tenancies of the Richmond fee.[51] Apparently, he did not succumb to the urge to rusticate, which so many successful merchants of this time found impossible to resist. He had thriven in Boston and in Boston he continued to live and do business, clearly as one of its wealthiest merchants and men of affairs. His career has much in common with that of William Spayne, knight of the shire in 1380 and 1382, who was also a Boston merchant.[52]

This was a period in which the barriers between gentility, on the one hand, and professional and business life, on the other, seldom if ever intact, were being more commonly breached. The son of one of the tycoons of the Yorkshire wool-trade operating from Hull had become Earl of Suffolk in 1385.

[46] *CPR, 1401–5*, 169. No note of any other appointment as deputy-butler at Boston appears in the Patent Rolls before 5 December 1411, when William Somercotes was appointed.

[47] Bell was appointed escheator on 10 November 1404 and acted for a year, as was usual (*CFR, 1399–1405*, 272).

[48] He was a J.P. for Holland, May 1398–May 1406, February 1407–June 1410, February 1411–January 1418, October 1418–July 1420 (*CPR, passim*).

[49] P. Thompson, *op. cit.*, 117; *CPR, 1396–9*, 342. By 1392 Bell was also a member of the Gild of St. Mary of Boston (*ibid., 1391–6*, 192), and in 1396 he was one of a number of Boston people licensed by the Crown to found yet another fraternity in Boston parish church (*ibid., 1396–99*, 19–20).

[50] *CPR, 1396–9*, 319.

[51] *CFR, 1399–1405*, 15; *ibid., 1405–13*, 32; *CPR, 1405–8*, 443. Bell served on a large number of local royal commissions of different sorts, commissions of sewers, commissions of arrays, commissions for raising royal loans (in August 1404 he and three other Boston merchants received security, on the customs due from their own wool-exports, for a loan of £100 to the Prince of Wales for the Welsh war), and commissions interfering with trade and shipping at Boston in the interest of the Crown (*CPR, passim*). He was a feoffee-to-uses of (among others) Sir Thomas de Willoughby (note 35), Sir Ralph de Rochford (note 28) and Sir Thomas Dimmock (*Lincs. Notes and Queries*, VIII, 209; *CCR, 1413–9*, 86; *CPR, 1413–6*, 327).

[52] See pages 63–4 and note 23.

It was nothing exceptional for merchants to invest in land, whether by purchase or by lease, and for their sons to move up in the social scale and become gentry; but it is something worth comment when, within the passage of a generation, two Boston merchants, continuing in trade, whatever else they did as well, could represent in parliament, however casually, their shire. Before very many years had passed after Bell's election in 1413 such a phenomenon was to recur. In his twenties and thirties, Hamond Sutton, the great wool-stapler of Lincoln, many times represented his city in parliament. In his forties, by which time he had put on social weight but had remained a merchant still, on three occasions (in 1431, 1435 and 1439) he represented his county, which he had already administered as sheriff in 1428–9.[53] Many of the lawyers and country-gentlemen of the time were becoming ready to sit in parliament for some borough, if they could not get in for their county. To this development members of the merchant class were making little or no demur, even if it meant their own exclusion, so that for a merchant still in business to sit in parliament for a county is something to marvel at. It says a great deal for the integration of middle class society in later mediaeval Lincolnshire, rural and urban, that the contemporary trend in parliamentary representation, which was to go far in the fifteenth century towards converting the House of Commons into an assembly of country gentlemen at the expense of the bourgeoisie of the towns,[54] was occasionally reversed in that county. This is not to say that the Lincolnshire parliamentary boroughs of this time which we have been considering were not themselves susceptible to those nation-wide tendencies in borough representation to which I have just alluded. Robert Walsh, one of the city of Lincoln's representatives in most of the parliaments of the last years of Henry V and the first few years of his successor, was a gentleman and probably also a lawyer, although resident in the city, and Richard Duffield of Barton-on-Humber, who almost completely monopolized one of the Grimsby seats between 1420 and 1435, was a lawyer holding the office of clerk of the peace in the parts of Lindsey from before his parliamentary experience had begun until after it had ended.[55]

Nothing has been said directly, until just now, about the parliamentary representation of the boroughs of Lincolnshire. In the period particularly dealt with in this paper (1377 to 1422) the only Lincolnshire towns electing to parliament were Lincoln and Grimsby. Stamford had not sent burgesses to parliament since the reigns of Edward I and Edward II, and it only resumed its representation, because it was a town favourably affected towards the Yorkists, in the reign of Edward IV. Grantham, and for the same reason, only then first began to be represented in parliament. Boston had sent up men to two parliaments in the middle years of the fourteenth century, but

[53] J. S. Roskell, *The Commons in the Parliament of 1422*, p. 224.

[54] *Ibid.*, Chapter VII.

[55] *Ibid.*, p. 233, p. 174.

then it waited two centuries before beginning to be regularly represented under Mary Tudor.[56] So was completed the tale of Lincolnshire parliamentary boroughs as they have existed down to very modern times.

The all but total exclusion of Boston from parliamentary representation in the mediaeval period is rather striking. Its port was next in the kingdom after London in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries as a place for shipment of wool for the Calais market. It was also very prominent among those east coast ports in which the merchants of the Hanseatic League concentrated the bulk of their large import trade in Baltic produce and their large export trade in English cloth.[57] Boston's failure to be a regular mediaeval parliamentary borough is not so remarkable as at first sight might appear, at least not in its domestic consequences. The richness of the social life of this busy place in the later mediaeval period, and especially in the fourteenth century, is nowhere better attested than in the proliferation of its religious gilds.[58] Not the least important feature of the activity of these fellowships was the prominent place allowed in it to the gentry of the neighbourhood, probably even many of whom had houses in the town. Most of those knights of the shire for Lincolnshire who came from the parts of Holland were members of one or more of these Boston clubs[59]; a number of them occupied the chief

[56] Stamford is known to have returned parliamentary burgesses in 1295, 1298, 1302, 1305, 1306 and 1322, after which there is wide gap until 1467. Grantham's first known parliamentary burgesses were elected in 1467 also. Boston elected representatives in 1352 and 1353, but afterwards none until 1553. One early return from Louth is recorded in 1306, but even then the name of the single burgess elected was cancelled in the writ *de expensis*. (See *The Official Return of Members of Parliament*, under these dates.)

[57] In 1353 a staple had been fixed at Lincoln, for which Boston was merely the out-port, and then, in 1369, Boston was itself made a staple-town. The "communities" of the counties of Lincoln, Nottingham, Leicester and Derby petitioned in the parliament of 1376 that the staple be put back to Lincoln, stating that it had been removed to Boston "par brocage et pur singuler profit . . . a grant damage des ditz Comuns." The King, in refusing the request, said that the bill had not been avowed in parliament and that, in any case, the staple was well established at Boston for the ease of the people and the profit of the realm. In 1381 Boston was one with Newcastle upon Tyne, Hull and Yarmouth, in being chosen as a coast-town from which passports could be obtained (P. Thompson, *op. cit.*, 55; *Rot. Parl.*, ii, 332).

[58] Gilds were established in Boston with the following dedications: St. Botolph, Corpus Christi, St. Mary, SS. Peter and Paul, St. George, Holy Trinity, St. Katherine, SS. Simon and Jude, "Postill" (The Apostles), Holyrood, Fellowship of Heaven, and Seven Martyrs.

[59] Sir Ralph de Rochford, M.P. 1379, had been one of ten appointed to assist the Alderman of the Corpus Christi Gild of Boston in 1350 (P. Thompson, *op. cit.*, 117); William Spayne, M.P. in 1380 and 1382, was a member of the Corpus Christi Gild by 1349 and its Alderman in 1376 and 1377 (*ibid.*, 116; *CPR, 1348–50*, 364); Sir John de Copuldyke of Harrington, M.P. in 1397, 1401, 1404 and 1406, was admitted to the Corpus Christi Gild between 1405 and 1411 (P. Thompson, *op. cit.*, 118); John de Meres of Kirton-in-Holland, M.P. in 1407, was himself a founder-member of the Trinity Gild at Spalding, but members of his family had joined the Corpus Christi Gild at Boston; Sir Thomas de Willoughby, M.P. in 1411 and 1414, was Alderman of the Corpus Christi Gild in 1406 and 1407 (P. Thompson, 118) and also of the Gild of St. George in 1404 and 1416 (*CPR, 1401–5*, 388; *ibid., 1416–22*, 62); John Bell, M.P. in 1413, was a member of the Gild of St. Mary in 1392, a founder-member of the Gild of SS. Peter and Paul in 1396, and Alderman of the Corpus Christi Gild in 1395, 1396, 1397 and 1398 (P. Thompson, 117; *CPR, 1391–6*, 192; *ibid., 1396–9*, 19, 342); Richard Welby of Moulton, M.P. in 1421, had been a party in 1412 to a grant of property in Boston to the Holy Trinity Gild (*CPR, 1408–13*, 362).

office of a gild, the Aldermanship; and occasionally it even happened that they were knights of the shire when actually filling that office. Sir Philip de Tilney of Tydd was Alderman of the Corpus Christi Gild when knight of the shire in the two parliaments of 1388.[60] So sometimes was Sir John de Rochford when knight of the shire in the 1390s.[61] Thus Boston was doubtless occasionally represented in parliament, if only indirectly and informally.

Here in Holland at least we find the old distinctions between "country" and "town," between "landlordism" and "trade," no longer possessing much social relevance in the late fourteenth century. The erosion of these distinctions in parliamentary representation on a nation-wide scale is, in the present state of our knowledge, one of the most important aspects of the development of English political society in the fifteenth century. How far the Lincolnshire towns offered intimations of it in the history of their own late fourteenth and fifteenth century parliamentary representation, is a problem to which the local historian has already made some contribution[62]; but there is still plenty of freedom of movement, for those with the enterprise to use it, in this particular field of local parliamentary history.

J. S. ROSKELL

[60] See note 25.
[61] See note 28.
[62] J. W. F. Hill, *Medieval Lincoln*, 279–80.

APPENDIX

List of Knights of the Shire for Lincolnshire, 1377–1421[63]

Date of Meeting of Parliament	*Place of Meeting*	*Names of Knights of the Shire*
13 October 1377	Westminster	Sir John Dymmok, Sir John Auncell
20 October 1378	Gloucester	Sir William Bussy, Sir John Auncell
24 April 1379	Westminster	Sir Ralph de Rochford, Sir John Auncell
16 January 1380	,,	Sir William Bussy, John de Boys
5 November 1380	Northampton	William Spaigne
3 November 1381	Westminster	Sir John de Tothby, Sir Robert de Leake
7 May 1382	,,	Sir John de Tothby, Sir William Armyn
6 October 1382	,,	Sir Robert de Leake, William Spaigne
23 February 1383	,,	Sir John Bozoun, Walter Tailboys
26 October 1383	,,	Sir John de Moulton, Sir John Bussy
29 April 1384	Salisbury	Sir John de Moulton, Sir John Bozoun
12 November 1384	Westminster	Sir John Bozoun, Sir Robert de Leake
20 October 1385	,,	Sir Philip de Tilney, Sir William Armyn
1 October 1386	,,	Sir Walter Tailboys, Sir John Bozoun
3 February 1388	,,	Sir Philip de Tilney, Sir Walter Tailboys
9 September 1388	Cambridge	Sir John Bussy, Sir Philip de Tilney
17 January 1390	Westminster	Sir John Bussy, Sir Philip de Tilney
12 November 1390	,,	Sir John Bussy, John de Rochford
3 November 1391	,,	Sir John Bussy, Gerard de Suthill
20 January 1393	Winchester	Sir John Bussy, Robert de Cumberworth
27 January 1394	Westminster	Sir John Bussy, John de Rochford
27 January 1395	,,	Sir John Bussy, Robert de Cumberworth
22 January 1397	,,	Sir John Bussy, Sir John de Copyldyke
17 September 1397	,,	Sir John Bussy, John de Rochford
27 January 1398	Shrewsbury (by adjournment)	
6 October 1399	Westminster	Sir Thomas Hawley, Sir John de Rochford
20 January 1401	,,	Sir Henry de Retford, Sir John de Copuldyke
30 September 1402	,,	Sir Henry de Retford, Sir Gerard de Suthill
14 January 1404	,,	Sir John de Copuldyke, Sir Richard Hansard
6 October 1404	Coventry	Sir Henry de Retford, Sir Thomas Hawley
1 March 1406	Westminster	Sir John de Copuldyke, John Skipwith
20 October 1407	Gloucester	John Skipwith, John de Meres
27 January 1410	Westminster	Not known
3 November 1411	,,	Sir Thomas de Willoughby, John Poucher
14 May 1413	,,	Sir Richard Hansard, John Bell
30 April 1414	Leicester	John Skipwith, Thomas Cumberworth
19 November 1414	Westminster	Sir Thomas de Willoughby, Sir Richard Hansard
4 November 1415	,,	Not known
16 March 1416	,,	Sir Robert Hilton, William Tirwhit
19 October 1416	,,	Not known
16 November 1417	,,	Not known
16 October 1419	,,	Not known
2 December 1420	,,	Sir Thomas Cumberworth, Sir Robert Hagbech
2 May 1421	,,	Sir Richard Hansard, Sir Godfrey Hilton
1 December 1421	,,	Sir Thomas Cumberworth, Richard Welby

The following abbreviations have been used in the footnotes:

CCR = *Calendar of Close Rolls.*
CFR = *Calendar of Fine Rolls.*
CPR = *Calendar of Patent Rolls.*
P.R.O. = Public Record Office.
Rot. Parl. = *Rotuli Parliamentorum.*

The article printed above was read as a paper at the Annual General Meeting of the Lincolnshire Record Society held at Lincoln in 1957.

[63] Abstracted from *The Official Return of Members of Parliament, Part I, Parliaments of England, 1213–1702*, pp. 197–300.

THE LIFE AND LEGEND OF LOUISE LABÉ

Tant que mes yeus pourront larmes espandre,
A l'heur passé avec toy regretter:
Et qu'aus sanglots et soupirs resister
Pourra ma voix, et un peu faire entendre:
Tant que ma main pourra les cordes tendre
Du mignart Lut, pour tes graces chanter:
Tant que l'esprit se voudra contenter
De ne vouloir rien fors que toy comprendre:
Je ne souhaitte encore point mourir.
Mais quand mes yeus je sentiray tarir,
Ma voix cassee, et ma main impuissante,
Et mon esprit en ce mortel sejour
Ne pouvant plus montrer signe d'amante:
Priray la Mort noircir mon plus cler jour.

LOUISE LABÉ

Editions and translations of Louise Labé's works have become increasingly numerous since the early nineteenth century.[1] She is now better known than ever before: and this is not entirely due to the modern trend in academic circles to resuscitate minor authors nor to the inevitable crop of publications which ripens with every centenary. Louise Labé is read because she wrote enjoyable poetry. It is also clear to anybody who compiles a bibliography of Louise Labé studies that her life-story has aroused as much interest as her writings, for it has all the ingredients of a popular novel. Indeed, novels have been written about her—novels in which the few known facts have been swallowed up in a sea of fiction.[2] Thus a legend has developed which is often repeated in modern prefaces to her works, as for example in this 1947 preface: "Louise Labé was born in Lyons in 1525. . . . Both her father and her husband were wealthy ropemakers . . . at an early age she learned Greek, Latin, Spanish and Italian . . . she appears to have enlisted in the Dauphin's army, and to have fought, in her teens, in the siege of Perpignan. She accumulated an eminent library, and formed an elaborate salon; and her remaining years were marked by a celebrated and somewhat cantankerous intimacy with certain contemporary poets and poetesses. . . ."[3]

[1] There were four complete editions of her works in the sixteenth century, none in the seventeenth, one in the eighteenth, eight in the nineteenth and at least eighteen editions of her poetry to date in the twentieth century. Her poetry has also been translated at least twice in the nineteenth century and thirteen times to date in the twentieth century. It has been translated into Provençal, German, Dutch, English, Hungarian and Italian.

[2] In particular the works of P. Bellat, *Le Chevalier Loys*, Sidi-Bel-Abès, 1950; J. Larnac, *Louise Labé, la Belle Cordière de Lyon*, Paris, 1934; J. Trillat, *Dame Loyse la Belle Cordière*, Lyons, 1937; and M. Varille, *Les Amours de Louise Labé, la Belle Cordière*, Lyons, 1929.

[3] *v.* Preface to F. Prokosh's *The Love Sonnets of Louise Labé*, New York, 1947.

Even before she published anything, Louise Labé was much talked about and well known. This is readily proved by the fact that the street in which she lived was named after her at least three years before the first edition of her works was printed[4]; and in her poetry she boasts of her renown[5] and also complains of some of the talk that went on about her.[6] A legend soon emerges when facts are handed on by word of mouth, especially when they are concerned with a very talented and beautiful woman. Louise Labé became the subject of complimentary verse[7] and mocking song.[8] With her death there followed a silence of nearly two centuries, but once she was rediscovered and the tales about her were retold, scholars and literary critics began to take sides on the matter of her morals. Some felt obliged to defend her, others to condemn her. Thus, unwittingly, no doubt, these people, by their concentration on and their conjectures about her love-life, prepared the way for a succession of popular biographies. Some well-meaning scholars (aiming, one feels, to make up for her moral shortcomings), tried to show what a learned woman she was by demonstrating that many of her ideas and images were borrowed directly from Classical poetry and philosophy, forgetting in their enthusiasm that most of these were commonplace and very much in the air in mid-sixteenth-century Lyons, and that they could easily have been borrowed from French translations of the Classics or from other well-known French writers of her day.[9]

The object of this article is to re-examine these legends and to present as full and faithful a picture as possible of Louise Labé as a person. In order to do this, it is necessary to take into consideration the story of her family —a story which is, of course, partly hers.

Louise Labé's father was a ropemaker. In the late fifteenth century the ropemakers of Lyons lived and worked together in two well-defined areas of the city, namely at the foot of the Côte Saint-Sébastien, and on the south side of the Hôtel Dieu.[10] It was in the first of these two districts, in the rue de l'Arbre Sec, that a ropemaker's business prospered under the management of a certain Jacques Humbert, commonly called Labé. The name Labé appears to be the one by which the business rather than the man was known, since

[4] *v.* Plate 3, where the street is called by her nickname, "la Belle Cordière."

[5] J. Aynard, *Les Poètes Lyonnais*, Paris, 1924, p. 253. This book faithfully reproduces Louise Labé's complete works as published in the 8° 1556 edition, to which all references and from which all quotations are made in this article.

[6] *Ibid.*, pp. 255 and 283.

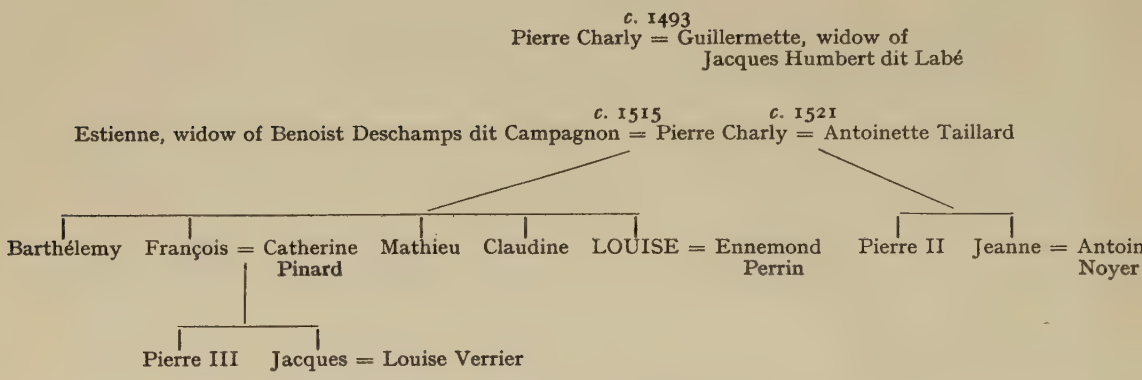
[7] *v. Les Escriz de divers Poëtes à la louenge de Lovize Labé Lionnoize*, published at the end of the first edition of her works and reprinted by C. Boy, *Œuvres de Louise Labé*, Vol. I, Paris, 1886–7.

[8] *v. La chanson nouvelle de la Belle Cordière de Lyon*, in *Recueil de plusieurs chansons divisé en trois parties*, Lyons, 1557, p. 43.

[9] *v.* K. Varty, *Louise Labé's Theory of Transformation*, in *French Studies*, January 1958, where it is shown that she both could and did use French translations.

[10] *v.* plates 2 and 3.

he was often referred to quite simply as Jacques Humbert[11]; and his successor, known as Pierre Charly before he succeeded to the business, was more often called Pierre Charly dit Labé afterwards.[12] This succession took place when Pierre married Guillermette, the widow of Jacques Humbert, most probably between 1490 and 1493.[13]



A FAMILY TREE of the CHARLY dit LABÉ

One may reasonably assume that Pierre had at least served his apprenticeship and was established as a ropemaker before he married—that is to say that he was at least twenty years old in 1493. It is quite obvious, however, that he was a very young man when he married, because records show that he was still alive in 1548,[14] nearly 60 years after he was first mentioned in a tax return dated 1489.[15] One imagines that Guillermette was considerably older than Pierre, and certainly more experienced in the business which she inherited

[11] *v.* entries in *Fonds Saint-Pierre*, Vol. I, 18 September 1488 and 4 January 1501, quoted by Boy, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 116. Also *Archives de la Ville de Lyon*, series CC 219, Vol. II (1490); EE 30, Vol. I (1491); CC 220, Vol. I (1492); CC 12, Vol. II (1493); and CC 113, Vol. I (1503). Other MSS. sources which have been used and are referred to in the course of this article are the *Archives du Département du Rhône* (henceforth always referred to as *Arch. Dép.*), with special reference to the registers of the notaires Buyer, Chaillard, Delaforest, Deschalles, Dumas, Foillet, Montaland and Popon; the *Archives de l'Aumône Générale de Lyon*; the *Archives Hospitalières de Lyon*; and the *Fonds Saint-Paul*. In all the following notes only the *Archives de la Ville de Lyon* are referred to quite simply as *Archives*.

[12] *v.* entry in *F. St. Pierre*, Vol. I, 19 January 1489 and *Archives* CC 219, Vol. II (1493): quoted by D. O'Connor, *Louise Labé, sa vie et son œuvre*, Paris, 1926, pp. 44–5.

[13] *v.* G. Tricou, *Louise Labé et sa famille*, in *B. d'H. et R.*, Vol. V, 1944, p. 61.

[14] This is when he last drew up his will, quoted by Boy, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 118–20.

[15] *v.* entry in *F. St. Pierre*, Vol. I, 19 June 1489.

from Jacques, for it appears to have been carried on in her name and not in Pierre's while she remained alive.[16] Furthermore, she died, presumably of natural causes, about 1514.[17]

Young and inexperienced as Pierre may have been when he married Guillermette, there can be no doubt that during his partnership with her he proved to be a reliable and industrious ropemaker, for he began to receive orders for work in 1502 from the City Elders, and they continued to place orders with him from time to time throughout the rest of his life.[18] Thus, when Guillermette died, Pierre was left with a prospering business and some valuable property. There are no records to show that Pierre had any possessions of his own before he married her, but after their marriage he is described as the owner of a workshop and three-storied house in the rue de l'Arbre Sec, and of a large garden behind this property.[19] There is no record of Guillermette having borne Pierre any children.

It was in 1515, presumably about a year after Guillermette's death, that Pierre acquired more property in the form of "une maison tinailler, colombier, vignes, appelé de la Gela, contenant en vignes XX fosserés," situated on the steep hillside to the north of the city known as the Côte Saint-Vincent.[20] A document of the same date not only repeats this information, but ascribes more property to him, namely, a two-storied building in the rue de l'Arbre Sec, adjoining the three-storied building he already possessed, and another three-storied building in the "ruette tendant de l'Arbre Sec en la rue Pizay."[21] A register kept by the Lyons tax collectors, also dated 1515, reveals from whom and when Pierre Charly acquired the estate called La Gela. In this register the estate is first recorded as belonging to Benoît Deschamps,[22] but a later

[16] The business continued to be taxed in her name until 1512, *v. Archives*, CC 112, Vol. II (1503); CC 113, Vol. I (1503); CC 239, Vol. I (1504) and CC 145, Vol. I (1512).

[17] In 1512 it is recorded that "Pierre Charlieu dict Labbé" paid taxes for the first time in his own name for the ropemaker's premises in the rue de l'Arbre Sec. In 1515 "la veufve Humbert" was taxed for the last time, and then only 20 *deniers*. Apart from this, Guillermette ceased to be taxed in 1512, from which date onwards Pierre was taxed regularly. These facts seems to indicate that Guillermette was forced to withdraw from the active management of the business about 1512 on account of illness or old age, and that Pierre then took over full control. The small sum recorded in 1515 seems to have been the final settling of her account with the tax collectors. *v.* Tricou, *op. cit.*, p. 44; and *Archives* CC 559, Vol. I (1503); CC 568, Vol. II (1505); CC 573, Vol. I (1506); and EE 19, Vol. I (1506).

[18] *v. Archives*, CC 554, Vol. III (1502)—quoted by O'Connor, *op. cit.*, p. 44—CC 559, Vol. I (1503); CC 568, Vol. II (1505); CC 573, Vol. I (1506); and EE 19, Vol. I (1506).

[19] *v. Archives*, CC 12, Vol. II (1493), quoted by O'Connor, *op. cit.*, pp. 44–5.

[20] *Archives*, CC 20, Vol. I (1515), quoted in note 22. Also *v.* plate 2.

[21] *Archives*, CC 23, Vol. II (1515), quoted by O'Connor, *op. cit.*, p. 44.

[22] "Benoist Compagnon marchand tient à cause de sa femme: une maison haulte et basse dud. (*sic*) rue (depuys le pont du Rosne jusqu'à l'Hospital) du costé de soir. plus tient. . . . Deschamps dict Compagnon son nepveu, deux maisons joignant ensemble en la rue tirant de Saincte Catherine à la porte Sainct Marcel, plus deux vignes en la coste Sainct Sebastien joignant les fosses. plus tient une maison tinailler, colombier, vignes appelé de la Gela, contenant en vignes xx fosserees, jouxte; le grand chemin tendant de Sainct Vincent à la Croix Benoist Gaigneur, de matin;—la vigne Regnaud vigneron de soir—et le chemin tendant aus fossés, de bize." In the margin opposite this section of the records are the words "ce tient Pierre Charly qui s'en charge pour IX^{xx} VII liv." *Archives*, CC 20, Vol. I (1515).

entry describes the same property as Pierre Charly's.[23] It is almost certain, therefore, that it was in the year 1515 that Pierre acquired La Gela from Benoît Deschamps, and tax returns dated 1516 show that Pierre did not buy it but inherited it, as well as the half of two houses in the rue Sainte-Catherine.[24] These returns do not, however, explain how it was that Pierre inherited all this property. This is revealed only by a document dated 22 February 1524, which shows that Pierre had married again to one Estienne, the widow of Benoît Deschamps dit Compagnon.[25] As it was in 1515 that La Gela changed hands, it is presumably in that year that Pierre married Estienne. Their marriage lasted less than ten years. It is only by considering a few facts about Pierre's third marriage that some idea of the date of Estienne's death may be obtained—a factor of considerable importance because, while the exact date of Louise Labé's birth is not known, it is apparent that she was the daughter of Pierre and Estienne, so the establishing of the extreme dates of their union is at the same time a guide to the date of Louise Labé's birth.

Pierre had two children by his third wife, Antoinette. It is clear that one of these children, a girl called Jeanne, had attained her majority, that is to say was at least twenty-five years old,[26] by 11 October 1553, when her marriage is recorded.[27] Pierre must therefore have married Antoinette at least twenty-six years previously, in 1527, and Estienne could have been alive as late as 1526 if Pierre had observed only the minimum period of one year's mourning which was then customary. Since Jeanne may not have been the elder of

[23] "Pierre Charly dit Labbé cordier tient une maison tinaillier et colombier et vigne appelé de la gella, contenant la vigne XXX hommees, jouxte, le grand chemin tendant de Sainct Vincent à la Croix Benoist Gaigneur, qui fust de Benoist Compagnon estimé LIII l." *Archives*, CC 24, Vol. I (1515).

[24] "Pierre Charly dit Labbé cordier tient une maison aulte moyenne et basse en l'Arbre Sec du costé de bize, joignant aus maisons de Symon Gojon devers matin—une aultre maison dud. Labbé de seoir—par luy bastie estimé valoir par an VII l . . . plus une aultre maison en lad. rue aulte moyenne et basse . . . plus tient une aultre maison aulte moyenne et basse bastie à neuf en la ruelle traversant de l'Arbre Sec en rue Pizay de soir . . . tient . . . par heritage la Gella . . . plus a eu par heritaige susdit la moytié de deus maisons haultes moyennes et basses en la rue Saincte Catherine du costé de matin. . . ." *Archives*, CC 26, Vol. I (1516).

[25] *v.* Boy, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 26, 30 and 114.

[26] *v.* J. Larnac, *Louise Labé, la Belle Cordière de Lyon*, Paris, 1934, p. 193.

[27] "Mariage entre Antoine Noyer clerc practicien es Cours de Lyon d'une part et Jane Charly fille de feu Pierre Charly dit Labbé . . . d'autre part . . . en faveur et contemplacion duquel mariage, François Charly dit Labbé . . . frere de lad. Jane epouse à venir, donne et constitute pour dot de mariage de lad. Jane . . . la somme de CCC liv. t., II robes, II cotes nuptiales en drap, compris en lad. constitution les legatz fait à lad. Jane par led. feu Pierre Charly son pere, par la teneur de son testament et ordonnance de derniere volonté receus par feu Me. Etienne Noyer en son vivant not. royal aud. Lyon: donation faite pour tous droits de lad. future epouse dans la succession de Pierre Charly. Intervient aud. contrat Antoinette Taillard veuve de Pierre Charly et mere de lad. Jane, et Claude Rouge . . . Jean Taillard boucher dud. Lyon son pere à ce present et l'autorisant, qui donne à lad. epouse et pour elle à son futur epoux la somme de C liv. dont Antoinette Taillard se reserve la jouissance pendant sa vie. Le futur epous donne à sa femme un augment de dot de CL liv. plus des joyaux suivant son etat . . . fait en la maison de François Charly le onze Octobre 1553. . . ." *Arch. Dép., Minutes Deschalles*, 3E, 3926. (This act was introduced into the Consulate's registers—*Archives*, FF 52, between 29 August and 1 September 1556.)

the two children of Pierre's third marriage, and since she could have been several years older than twenty-five in 1553, it is probable that Pierre married Antoinette a few years before the latest possible date of 1527.

Indeed, there is some indication that Pierre and Antoinette were married as early as 1524, since the wording of the document of that year which discloses the identity of Pierre's second wife strongly suggests that she was then dead, and that he was already married a third time.[28] In this document Pierre is described as "tutor et legitimus administrator personarium et bonum Bartholomei, Francisci et Mathei suorum, et *quondam* Stephane ejus uxoris. . . ." The use of "quondam" and the need to distinguish the children as being those of Estienne is almost certain proof that she was then dead and her place in Pierre's household had been taken by Antoinette. Since Guillermette had borne Pierre no children and was long since dead, there was no question of there being any doubt as to the identity of the mother of Pierre's children unless he had already married yet again. This being so, Estienne was most probably dead by the end of 1523, after being married not more than eight years to Pierre, during which time she bore him at least five children, namely, Barthélemy, François, Mathieu, Claudine and Louise.

During the course of his second marriage, Pierre's business continued to prosper, and he retained the custom of the City Elders, from whom he earned relatively large sums of money.[29] His wealth had grown considerably, chiefly on account of his having inherited Estienne's estate, but he could not have been more wealthy than the average master ropemaker in Lyons then, because he paid much the same amount in taxes as his fellow craftsmen.[30] Towards the end of this marriage he became a "quaternier."[31] This means he was empowered by the rectors of the Aumône Générale of Lyons to collect alms in his home district of the city. It was a small distinction, but one which indicates that he had drawn attention to himself as a trustworthy man, and commanded the respect of neighbours and fellow-citizens.

When Pierre married for the third time, he chose a very young woman to be his bride, and in so doing, he associated himself with a class somewhat higher than his own social scale. He chose Antoinette Taillard, daughter of a master butcher.[32] Thus, although Pierre apparently gained no more property by his third wife, he gained slightly in social status.

[28] *v.* note 25.

[29] *v. Archives,* CC 637 (1515), pièce no. 8 and CC 710, Vol. II (1523).

[30] In 1522 the heaviest tax levied is 50 livres, and every cordier is taxed 30 livres, *v. Archives,* CC 135, Vol. I (1522).

[31] *v. Archives,* EE 20, Vol. II (1523).

[32] *v.* note 27, and G. Tricou, *op. cit.*, p. 63, where the social status of ropemakers and butchers is compared.

From 1537 Pierre is known to have been a "notable"[33]; that is to say, he was chosen by the City Elders to attend their meetings as a representative of his class and district when serious matters were being debated, especially matters of taxation. A "notable" had no authority. His duty was simply to offer suggestions when called upon, and to agree with the decisions taken. The real reason for the existence of these "notables" was to make the ordinary folk of the city feel that they took some part in its administration, and that taxes were not levied without their viewpoint having been made known. Lyons suffered more than once by a minor revolution when the mob was incited to attack the wealthier people who governed the city.[34] The "notables" were obviously created in the hope of thwarting any further attempts to incite the mob. Like his fellow "notables" Pierre did very little beyond attending some of the meetings to which he was called. He never appears to have ventured an original opinion, and he always seems to have sided with the majority. He was present at exactly half the meetings he was expected to attend, mostly between 1542 and 1544. In his first four years as a "notable" he was present only once in four meetings, and in his last two years in this capacity, he again made only one appearance in four.[35] This spasmodic attendance possibly indicated that Pierre was suffering from ill-health. In any event he made a will towards the end of the first period of absence, in 1543,[36] and in any case, the burden of age probably lay heavily on him during these years, for he must have been more than seventy. He altered his will in August 1548,[36] but is not heard of alive after this date. He was almost certainly dead by 1551, when his son François is described as the owner of the house in the rue de l'Arbre Sec which for more than fifty years previously was Pierre's home.[37]

Pierre's third marriage seems to have been a happy one. He had a young wife whom, judging by the terms of his will, he dearly loved. His will was very favourable to her when first drawn up, and even more so after an interval of five years when it was altered.[38] Whilst married to Antoinette, Pierre enlarged his estate still further by purchasing land totalling about two-and-a-half acres at Vaulx-en-Velin. It is not known when he did this because the

[33] *v. Archives*, BB 56 (27 March 1537—when Pierre was present); BB 57 (24 March 1538—absent); BB 58 (7 May 1541—absent, 6 July 1541—absent, 11 July 1542—absent); BB 60 (1544—present); BB 61 (20 March 1542—present, 7 May 1543—present, 7 April 1543—present, 23 May 1544—present, 7 July 1544—absent); BB 63 (15 June 1545—absent); BB 64 (28 April 1546—absent, 29 April 1546—present).

[34] One of the worst of these minor revolutions is that commonly called the "Reybeyne" of 1529.

[35] *v.* note 33.

[36] Referred to and quoted by Boy, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 27 and 118–20.

[37] "Symon d'Ambournay tient maison et jardin en la rue de l'Arbre Sec qui jouxte Françoys Charly dict Labbé." *Archives*, CC 45, Vol. I (1551) and "François Charly dict Labbé tient une maison en la rue Saincte Catherine jouxte Philippe Chippier de vent . . . plus deus maisons en la coste Sainct Vincent jouxte Arthus Coqui de vent . . . plus une maison en la rue de l'Arbre Sec. . . ." *Archives*, CC 43, Vol. I (1551).

[38] Referred to and quoted by Boy, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 27 and 118–20.

deeds recording the purchase have not been found, but the fact remains that his son François inherited this land which he later sold in plots.[39] Pierre continued to enjoy the trust of the rectors of the Aumône Générale, and presumably the respect of his neighbours—a respect which would be increased when he was chosen by the City Elders to attend their meetings as a "notable." In short, Louise Labé's father must have achieved quite an enviable position in the eyes of his fellow ropemakers—in spite of his illiteracy, which is proved by a receipt made out on 16 May 1529 upon which he could only draw a sign resembling a heart which encloses his badly scrawled initials, the C of which is written backwards.[40] Other receipts issued on later occasions bear no attempt at a signature. Even so, Pierre Charly dit Labé appears to have been a very successful member of the class of hard-working craftsmen amongst whom he always lived. He seems to have been quite ambitious, as his practical and profitable marriages suggest; and he was cautious and clear-sighted, as his insistence on a properly authenticated receipt indicates on the one hand,[40] and his gradual, continued rise in the ropemakers' world confirms on the other. The chief qualities to which his success must be ascribed, and which the numerous large orders placed with him by the City Elders surely confirm, were industriousness and reliability. Finally, the terms of his will reveal a fair-minded, affectionate man.[41]

It is not known how old his second wife Estienne was at the time of her marriage to Pierre, but she could hardly have been much more than thirty-five because, in the comparatively short time of their union, she bore at least five children.[42] One died while young[43]; another may have been feeble-minded,[44] and none of the remaining three lived to reach the age of fifty.[45] Estienne's death presumably took place before she was forty-five, and probably much earlier. Perhaps this was hastened by her bearing several children in so short a time, which in turn may account for the children's apparent inherent weakness. Beyond these clues to the state of Estienne's health and her age, little more can be ascertained about the mother of Louise Labé.

Louise's step-mother, Antoinette, must have been quite young when she

[39] The solicitors who authenticated the docs. relating to these sales were Mes. Buyer (*v. Arch. Dép.*, 3^{E}, 3206, 26 June 1552); Deschalles (3^{E}, 3942); Popon (3^{E}, 7168 and 7174) and Chaillard (3^{E}, 362, 1557). François sold the $2\frac{1}{2}$ acres in eight different sales over a period of five years—1552 to 1557.

[40] "Je Varan Chalandat recepveur de la Ville ay receu de Sr. Pierre Charlieu dit Labbé la somme de XXX liv. qu'il apporte pour fournir au Roy la somme qu'il a faict payer pour sa solde de V^{C} hommes de guerre, à quoi il a esté tauxé en ceste Ville de Lyon, en ce present mois de May 1529, dont je le promis rambourser des deniers qui seront pour ce ordonnez XVI May 1529." On the back of this note are the words "Acquit par Charly" followed by his "trade mark" and initials and the words "à la requeste dud. Charlye." *Archives*, CC 748, pièce no. 141.

[41] *v.* note 38.

[42] Barthélemy, François, Mathieu, Claudine and Louise.

[43] Barthélemy.

[44] Claudine.

[45] *v. infra.*

became Pierre's third bride. She was still single, and few women then reached the age of twenty without marrying; and in any event she had nearly fifty years still to live after Pierre took her to wife.[46]

Stepmothers are commonly thought of as indifferent if not unkind to their step-children. Some of Louise Labé's biographers have argued that Antoinette was such a step-mother, largely because she took the initiative in a law-suit against her step-son François in later life, whilst Louise completely ignored her when making a will in which mere servants were remembered.[47] No doubt Antoinette found her step-children a considerable burden. Apart from there being five, some must have been mere babies, one probably very weak[48] and one defective.[49] To make matters more difficult, she soon had two children of her own, Pierre II and Jeanne,[50] neither of whom lived to be very old, which might mean that they were not very strong either.[51] It would be quite natural for Antoinette to care for her own children more than Estienne's. Furthermore, the eldest of Estienne's children would have grown old enough to know her and love her as their own mother, and consequently they may well have resented the intrusion of a stranger in her place, and have been rather difficult. In fact, if there grew up a dislike between step-mother and step-children, it was probably more the fault of circumstances than that of Antoinette. It has also been alleged that Antoinette was avaricious.[52] The allegation is based partly on the law-suit in which she was involved with François who contested his father's will,[53] and partly on the fact that soon after Pierre's death she married Claude Popon, the "notaire royal" of Lyons.[54] In point of fact it was François who precipitated the law-suit,[55] and Antoinette remained a widow longer than Estienne. Indeed, Antoinette remained a widow longer

[46] This is proved by her will made 7 October 1571—"Honneste femme Antoinette Taillard delaissee de feu Claude Popon quand vivoit notaire royal aud. Lyon . . . (her second husband) . . . ne voulant decedder sans tester . . . dicte son testament . . . aus povres de l'Hospital de Lyon, X liv. t.; à l'Aumosne General X liv. t.; à sa chambriere si elle se marie X liv. t.; à Claudine Passerat, si elle se marie XV liv. t.; à Jehan Taillard son frere boucher à Lyon pour tous droicts à sa succession L liv. t. . . . (Jehan Taillard is evidently her only legal heir) . . . faict et passé à Lyon en la chambre d'habitation de lad. testatrice . . . (qui) . . . declare ne sçavoir signer." *Arch. Dép., Minutes Foillet*, 3[E], 4993.

[47] *v.* Larnac, *op. cit.*, p. 15.

[48] Barthélemy.

[49] Claudine.

[50] Referred to in the document in which François Charly and Antoinette come to an agreement over Pierre Charly's will, quoted by Boy, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 118–20.

[51] *v.* note 65 (iv).

[52] Larnac, *op. cit.*, p. 167.

[53] *v.* note 38.

[54] *v.* note 46.

[55] *v.* note 38.

than was normal for women of her time.[56] In short, if there was any unpleasantness between her and her step-children, and there seems to have been, the fault lay perhaps as much if not more with the step-children.

From this study of the parents and guardians of Louise Labé, it is apparent that they were working-class folk of a comparatively humble origin. Her industrious father must almost always have been fully occupied with his work. Her mother died whilst the children were still infants. Her step-mother, by force of circumstances, could not have given her step-children a great deal of attention and they were probably left very much to their own devices. Such circumstances tend to form a character full of self-pity, or one of independence, imagination and initiative. The characters of François and Louise were of the latter kind.

François was probably about five when his father married Antoinette. Nothing is heard of François until 1548 when, with eleven other swordsmen, he was chosen to appear before his sovereign Henri II in a mock fight as part of the events held to celebrate the royal entry into the city.[57] Obviously his swordsmanship must have been outstanding for him to have been selected as one of the best twelve swordsmen in the city, and it was most probably on account of his proficiency that the attention of the civic authorities was drawn to him. In fact, his skill, along with that of his team-mates, so impressed Henri that he requested a repetition of the performance a few days later.[57] François is next heard of in 1551 when a certain Symon d'Ambournay was taxed for property described as adjoining that of Francis Charly in the rue de l'Arbre Sec.[58] François' father must have died sometime between 1548 and 1551, and the son had thus succeeded the father as head of the family, inheriting most of the property and wealth gathered together by Pierre. Further proof that this is what had come to pass is contained in a document dated 1551 in which more property, once described as Pierre's, is noted as belonging to François, while a year later François began the first of eight different sales as he disposed of the land left to him by his father at Vaulx-en-Velin.[59] In 1553

[56] Antoinette remained a widow for at least three years, not remarrying till 1554 (*v. Minutes Foillet*, Vol. 3E, 4980, 30 January 1554—"Mariage entre Claude Popon notaire royal à Lyon et Antoinette Taillard veufve de feu Pierre Charrier dict Labbé en son vivant marchand cordier citoyen de Lyons . . . faict et passé à Lyon en la maison de François Charly dict Labbé marchand cordier en presence de Antoine Noyer clerc"). Estienne appears to have remarried within a year of her first husband's death since Benoît Deschamps was presumably alive in 1515 and in the same year Pierre Charly inherited Benoît's property by marrying the widow—*v.* notes 22 and 23.

[57] *v. Archives*, CC 981, pièces nos. 11 and 12, September 1548—both quoted by M. C. Guigue, *La Magnificence de la Superbe et Triumphante entrée de la noble et antique Cité de Lyon faict au Treschrestien Roy de France, Henry deuziesme de ce Nom* . . . Paris, 1927, in the Appendix.

[58] *v.* note 37.

[59] *v.* note 39.

it is recorded that François possessed the property at La Gela, brought into the family by his mother, Estienne[60]; while in the same year he gave his half-sister, Jeanne, the handsome dowry of 300 livres and some clothing, following the terms of his father's will. This dowry is mentioned in an agreement drawn up at François' house where Jeanne, her husband and her mother, Antoinette, were present.[61] They were all on good terms then, apparently, and again a few months later when Antoinette remarried, because the document recording the mutual promise made by her and Claude Popon, the man she was to marry, was also drawn up in François' home.[62]

However, very soon afterwards François refused to carry out his father's will in respect of some property left to Antoinette in the rue de l'Arbre Sec, and of a sum of money amounting to 100 livres. As a result of this, Antoinette took her claims to court, where the matter rested for nearly five years, until August 1558.[63] Over that period there must have been considerable friction between François and Antoinette. In 1558, however, the two decided to come to terms of their own accord because, as one gathers from the minutes of a contemporary lawyer, the cost of the law-suit was proving unbearably heavy to both parties.[63] The agreement they reached gave little advantage to either side. François retained the property he refused to hand over to Antoinette, but only by paying her compensation; and he was allowed to keep the 100 livres in question for as long as Antoinette lived, but on her death he was to pay it to whomsoever it then rightfully belonged.[63] François' quarrel with his step-mother probably created a much more difficult situation between the Taillard and Charly families than is at first apparent; for, in a document dated 1561 it is revealed that François was himself married to a Taillard—to a Catherine Pinard who was a cousin of his step-mother.[64] It is very probable that François married Catherine before 1550, since his own children, neither of whom had reached his majority by 1569, were nevertheless at that time old

[60] "Honneste homme Françoys Charly dict Labbé marchand Cordier citoyen de Lyon . . . tient . . . une aultre maison et vigne joignant ensemble qui fust aussy dud. feu Pierre Charly sondit pere situee aud. Lyon en la couste Sainct Vincent, jouxte la rue tendant de lad. Couste Sainct Vincent de matin. . . ." *Parangon de St. Pierre*, Vol. III, 21 January 1553, *v.* also note 23.

[61] *v.* note 27.

[62] *v.* note 56.

[63] *v.* note 38.

[64] "Honourable homme Françoys Charly dict Labbé marchand citoyen de Lyon reconnait avoir receu de Catherine Pinard sa femme 1000 liv. en payment de la dot d'icelle constituee par Marguerite Cotin mere d'icelle Catherine. . . ." *Arch. Dép., Minutes Popon*, Vol. 3E, 7178, 28 January 1561. It is established by Tricou (*op. cit.*, p. 71) that Marguerite Cotin was married to a certain Millet Taillard, Antoinette's uncle.

enough to have been described as merchants and weavers in their own right.[65] In fact, Pierre Charly may well have arranged this match in his last few years, desirous of seeing his heir settled before he died, and happy to tie more securely the bonds uniting his family with that of his wife. In any event, François was certainly married to Catherine at the time of the beginning of his difference with Antoinette.

François' determination to keep property which his father had willed to Antoinette is not easily understood, especially as he inherited by far the largest portion of his father's wealth. It is possible that François, for sentimental reasons, did not like to let his step-mother have some property which seems to have come into the family through his mother. Whatever element of right there was in the quarrel seems to have been with François or the agreement would not have been abandoned slightly in his favour, especially as Antoinette's second husband who was a "notaire royal" must have had a shrewd idea how the law would eventually decide in the matter, and he was hardly likely to make concessions if he knew that his wife stood to gain. The fact remains, however, that François showed no charity where he might have been expected to do so. In fact, he began to sell the land from which his father had willed Antoinette an annual supply of wheat eighteen months before the protracted quarrel broke out.[66] François appears to have been something of a selfish spendthrift, and to have cared more for money than for a well-established ropemaker's business. This would account for his determination to keep the property he refused to hand over to his step-mother, for he no doubt regarded it as an asset which he might eventually convert into cash. He certainly lost no time in beginning to sell the land his father had acquired at Vaulx-en-Velin, while he occasionally hired out a house or workshop to some neighbouring ropemaker,[67] and the last mention of François while alive is contained in a credit-note dated 1564 showing that he then borrowed the large sum of 390 livres.[68] When this is coupled with the fact that his children were

[65] (i) "Raphael Taillard, marchand boucher demeurant à Lyon, tuteur curateur de Jacques et Pierre Charly, heritiers testamentaires de feue Delle. Loyse Charly dict Labbé, leur tante. . . ." *Acte Delaforeste*, Rég. 4159 of 31 July 1566. (ii) "Comme pardevant nous Nicolas Delanges, Jacques Charly dict Labbé, fils de feu françois Charly dit Labbé, preceddent de l'auctorité de Me. André Deryno son curateur present, nous a remontré qu'il est pressé de ces créanciers de leur faire payement . . . ce qu'il ne peult aulcunemet faire parce qu'il n'a deniers comptant. . . ." *Sénéchaussée de Lyon, Sentences de l'audience (présidial)* Rég. for July to December 1568; 3 August 1568. (iii) "Mariage a esté traicté par parole d'advenir pour estre solennisé en présence de Nostre Saincte Mere l'Eglise entre Hugues Raveyron Me. barbier chirugien de Lyon, et Loyse Verrier, fille de feu Jehan Verrier en son vivant Me. maçon à Lyon, et veuve de feu Jacques Charly dict Labbé en son vivant Marchand tissotier dud. Lyon. . . ." *Minutes Dumas*, Rég. 3^{E}, 4542, 10 July 1569. (iv) *v.* O'Connor, *op. cit.*, p. 90, when document dated 1570 is quoted showing that both nephews, Jacques and Pierre were then dead without issue.

[66] *v.* notes 38 and 39.

[67] As he did in 1560—*v. Arch. Dép., Minutes Popon*, Vol. 3^{E}, 7175, 15 November 1560.

[68] "François Charly dit Labbé marchand de Lyon cedde à Benoist Gourinon citoyen de Lyon les fruicts louages et revenues de deux maisons et un jardin joignant ensemble sis aud. Lyon rue de l'Arbre Sec jouxte: la maison de feu Simon d'Ambournay d'une part et la maison et jardin de Mr. Grollier d'aultre part—durée trois ans, prix CCCXC l. payés comptant. . . ." *Arch. Dép., Minutes Popon*, 3^{E}, 7131, 7 May 1564.

in the gravest of financial difficulties only a few years after his death,[69] all seems to indicate that François was accustomed to living beyond his means.

The ropemaker's profession met a definite need, and there could be no question of lack of custom: and although there is reason to believe that the descendants of Pierre Charly were not very healthy,[70] it is improbable that the health of François was so poor as to incapacitate him. In fact he seems to have been quite active, respected and trusted in his later years, much as his father had been before him; but, unlike his father, he appears to have lacked an industrious, hard-working nature and the ambition to be a successful ropemaker. In short, it is very probable that the success of his sister Louise as a poetess and social figure, and his own success as an athlete and a swordsman bringing in their wake praises, attention and the company of distinguished people, turned his head to the extent that he began to live beyond his means. He would not be the first talented son to fail where a less talented but more hardworking and affectionate father had succeeded.

Hardly anything is known of Pierre Charly's other children, Louise excepted. Barthélemy, presumably the eldest son, was alive in 1524 but dead before 1543 when his father made a will.[71] Pierre II, the youngest son, was alive as late as 1548 when he was named in the revised version of his father's will, but dead before 1558 when François was declared the only surviving male descendant of Pierre Charly.[72] Mathieu, the only other bother, was killed by a certain Jean Noyaulx of a neighbouring ropemaker's family.[73] It appears that Mathieu, like François, was an athletic and daring person, skilled in the management of horses and chariot racing.[74] It is possible that on one occasion his daring went too far and he became involved in a fight with this Jean Noyaulx. The document which reveals the manner of his death shows that

[69] *v.* note 65, (i) and especially (ii).

[70] Nearly all, as is shown, died relatively young.

[71] He was presumably the eldest because he is named first in the document quoted *supra*. It was customary to name male children in legal documents in order of seniority. That he was alive in 1524 is proved by this same document. For proof that he was dead by 1543 *v.* Boy, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 118–20.

[72] *v. ibid.*, pp. 118–20.

[73] "Honneste homme François Charlier dict Labbé . . . au nom et comme tuteur de Claudine Charlier dict Labbé sa sœur . . . declare pour et au nom de lad. Claudine qu'elle ne pretend à aulcuns despens dommages et interests contre Jehan Noyaulx . . . cordier aud. Lyon pour raison de l'omicide faict à la personne de feu Mathieu Charlier dict Labbé son frère . . . faict et passé audit Lyon en la boutique dud. François Charlier. . . ." *Arch. Dép., Minutes Popon*, 3E, 7172, 5 October 1555.

[74] *v. Les Louanges de Louise Labé Loinnoize* pub. in first edition of her works, where one may read:

> . . . deus vaillans frères,
> L'un alaigre escrimeur (presumably François)
> L'autre (presumably Mathieu) de hardi courage
> Inventa premier l'usage
> De joindre au char le coursier
> Où il se roula grand' erre
> Effroyant toute la terre
> Des deus ronds bornez d'acier.

no member of the Charly family made a legal claim on his killer,[75] so it is extremely probable that Noyaulx killed in self-defence or after provocation. This same document also suggests that Claudine, the daughter of Pierre and Estienne, was either a mental defective or a nun. These seem to be the only alternative explanations of the fact that in 1555 she was considered incapable of making her own decisions in the eyes of the law although she must have been thirty-two at least at that time.[75] Jeanne, half-sister to Louise, was married as a major in 1553, but possibly lived only another three years after that date, because, in 1556 the act recording her marriage was then noted in the consulate's registers, a procedure which indicated the death of either husband or wife.[76]

Such was Louise Labé's family. It grew with Pierre Charly from relative poverty and obscurity to comparative wealth and recognition. In the ropemakers' world of its origin and growth it must have been regarded with some respect and envy. In the higher circles to which it probably gained occasional admission it would be viewed with admiration, for in the essentially commercial Lyonese society of those days a successful businessman was always favourably received wherever he might go—he would be judged by his merits and the colour of his blood counted for little.[77] Pierre's success was slowly won by hard work and level-headed determination. Comparative wealth was new to him, and he would value it the more for being so. Success, however, came with almost startling suddenness to François when he inherited his father's wealth; hence, perhaps, his apparently scornful attitude to the life and profession to which he really owed everything. The dominant family characteristic, when Louise is left out of consideration, seems to have been pride. With Pierre its effects were good, but not so with François and Mathieu. For the father it brought prosperity, for the sons poverty and death. Even apart from Louise, the Charly's were an unusually talented family, Pierre excelling in his ropemaking, François in swordsmanship and Mathieu in horsemanship. It remains to be seen how far Louise was a typical representative of this family.

If Guillermette had been Louise Labé's mother, it is reasonable to suppose that the poetess was fifty-five at least when she first published her works in 1555. Guillermette was already a widow when she married Pierre about 1490, and there is no record of her having had any children by Pierre, but if she did, they would almost certainly have been born in the earlier years of her marriage with him, that is, by 1500. While the assessment of Louise's age from her portrait as engraved by Woëiriot in 1555 cannot be done with any precision, it is obvious that she was then very much less than fifty-five.[78] On the other hand, if Antoinette had been Louise's mother, then Louise would have been

[75] *v.* note 73.
[76] *v.* note 27.
[77] This aspect of Lyonese society is fully treated by A. Kleinclausz, *Histoire de Lyon*, Lyons, 1939, Vol. I, chapter headed *La Société et la Vie Economique.*
[78] *v.* plate 1.

compelled by law to mention her as next of kin when, in 1565 she dictated her will.[79] By that date the husband, father, brothers and sisters of Louise were all dead, and she was childless.[80] Antoinette, however, was still living.[81] Consequently Louise appears to have been the daughter of Pierre and Estienne, and was therefore most probably born sometime between 1516 and 1523 No more precise dates than these can be offered without considerable conjecture. One could argue that she was born nearer the earlier rather than the later date since Estienne could have died as many as four years earlier than 1524,[82] and Louise's evidently independent nature might be an indication that she was one of Estienne's older children.[83] It is more likely, therefore, that she was born between 1516 and 1520 and was between thirty-five and thirty-nine years old when her portrait was engraved.

The exact place of her birth has been the subject of controversy. Various quarters of the city of Lyons have been suggested, as well as two hamlets between 20 and 30 kilometres away, both in the district known as the "Dombes."[84] The fact that she qualified herself as "Lionnoize"[85] has not been previously regarded as evidence of the whereabouts of her birth, although poets of the sixteenth century usually indicated very faithfully the district of their origin with such qualifications. For example, Du Bellay was always styled "Joachim Du Bellay, Angevin"; and Fontaine "Maistre Charles Fontaine, Parisien," despite the fact that the former achieved fame far from Anjou, and the latter composed most of his works in Lyons where he spent the greater part of his adult life. Furthermore, people who came from the Dombes qualified themselves as "Dombois," as, for example, "Guillaume de la Tayssonière, Gentilhomme Dombois."[86] The only document which gives some indication

[79] "A Lyon . . . pays de droit écrit, la mère devait avoir une réserve dans la succession de son enfant décédé sans postérité." Boy, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 29–30. Her will is published by O'Connor, *op. cit.*, pp. 180–5.

[80] This is evident from her will—*v.* note 79. Magny also reveals that Louise was childless in his *Ode à Sire Annemond*, published by J. Marnef, Paris, 1559, f. 181.

[81] *v.* note 46.

[82] But hardly any earlier—she bore Pierre at least five children, and as shown, was married to him about 1515.

[83] *v. supra.*

[84] Boy suggests Parcieux; O'Connor suggests Saint-Jean-de-Thurignieux and Tricou suggests Lyons.

[85] She did so in every edition of her works published during her lifetime.

[86] Taken from the title-page of *Les Amoureuses Occupations*, Lyons, 1556.

Plate 1

Woëiriot's Portrait of Louise Labé, 1555

PLATE 2

PIERRE CHARLY'S PROPERTY OF LA GELA (within dotted line), and the CÔTE SAINT-SEBASTIEN (bottom left corner), taken from the *Plan de la Ville de Lyon*, feuilles XVIII and XVII, published by *Société de Topographie Historique de Lyon*, Lyons 1875.

PLATE 3

THE RUE BELLE-CORDIÈRE AND ENNEMOND PERRIN'S HOME, (the top of the page faces south), atken from the *Plan de la Ville de Lyon au XVI^e siècle*, feuille III, pub. by the *Société de Topographie Historique de Lyon*, Lyons, 1872.

PLATE 4

A CORNER OF THE 1552 MAP OF LYONS, taken from the *Plan de la Ville de Lyon au XVI^e siècle*, feuille V, pub. by the *Société de Topographie Historique de Lyon*, 1873.

La Gela
Les Lieux principaux notez de la presente Ville . & Cité de Lyon
A Saint Iean Eglde collegialle
B Saint Paul Eglise collegialle
C Pierre Scde
D Fornuere
E Le Pont de Saone
F La riuiere de Saone
G L'Abbaye d'Ainay
H Les Iacopins
I Saint Nezer
K Le Pont du Rosne
L Les Cordeliers
M La Platiere
N La roche Saint Sebastien
O Les Boulleuers de la porte saint Sebastien

PLATE 5

A View of Lyons in 1564 Showing the Approximate Position of La Gela, taken from P.M. Gonon, *Documents historiques sur la vie et les mœurs de Louise Labé*, Lyons, 1844.

of the exact place of Louise's birth is an anonymous poem (published in 1555) in which the poet imagined he hears Venus say to Louise:

En moy tu fus engendrée,
Joignant le gracieus bord,
Où la Sone toute quoye
Fait une paisible voye
S'en allant fendre Lion:
Dens lequel on voit encore
Un mont ou l'on me decore,
Qui retient de moy son nom.
Le lieu ou tu fus conçue
Ne fut vile ny chateau,
Ains une forest tissue
De meint plaisant arbrisseau, . . .
Là autour sont meintes plaines,
Esquelles les blondes graines
De Ceres pourras cueillir,
Et la liqueur qui agrée
A Bacchus, et meinte prée
Où l'herbe ne peut faillir.
Là aussi sont meints bocages
Deça, delà espandus,
Où en tout tems les ramages
Des oiseaus sont entendus.
Par fois tu y pourras tendre
Le ret rare, à ton desir,
Et quelque gibier y prendre
Pour acroitre ton plaisir:
Ou t'exerçant à la chasse
Tu poursuivras à la trace
Les lievres fuians de peur,
De chiens autour toute armée,
Vagans dessous la ramée,
Se guidans à la senteur. . . .[87]

The clearest reference to a geographical reality in this extract is to be found in the first sentence (lines 1–8), where the poet clearly refers to La Fourvière. It was believed in the sixteenth century that one of the high hills dominating Lyons, called "la Fourvière" was once the site of a temple the Romans built and dedicated to Venus, and that "Fourvière" was simply a corruption of the Latin "forum Veneris."[88] In other words, the poet has Venus tell Louise Labé that she was born near the river Saône and in full view of La Fourvière—and in precisely such a position lay the "tenement de la Gela" which belonged to Louise's mother.[89]

[87] This poem is entitled *Des louenges de Dame Louize Labé, Lionnoize* and is the last of those poems which were printed in her praise at the end of the first edition of her works —also reproduced by Boy, *op. cit.*, Vol. I.

[88] *v.* Colonia, *Histoire littéraire de Lyon*, Paris, 1730, p. 271.

[89] *v.* plates 2 and 5.

It is fairly easy to show that La Gela is the site described by the poet by examining a large-scale pictorial map of Lyons dated 1552 on which the property may be seen,[90] and by showing that the site of La Gela and the site of Louise's garden, which the poet also describes, were one and the same place. Until now it has always been thought that Louise's garden was situated behind the house where she lived after her marriage; that is to say, behind the house at the corner of the rue Notre Dame de Confort and the rue Belle Cordière.[91] It could not have been so. In the first place our anonymous poet who describes the garden in such detail clearly indicates its general situation in these lines:

Un peu plus haut que la plaine
Où le Rone impetueus
Embrasse la Sone humeine
De ses grand bras tortueus,
De la mignonne pucelle (i.e. Louise)
Le plaisant jardin estoit. . . .[92]

This plain extended from the confluence of the Rhône and the Saône right to the foot of the hills north of Lyons, beyond the old city wall; but the garden behind the house in the rue Belle Cordière was *on* the plain, and only a short distance from the confluence.[93] In any case, this garden was very small and, allowing for the grossest exaggeration on the part of the anonymous poet, the lawns, vines, trellis-work, flower-beds, fruit trees and wooded groves which he describes[94] could hardly have been found there—but they are to be found on the pictorial map of La Gela, which was indeed neither "vile ny chateau," but an area clothed with "meint plaisant arbrisseau."[95] Cornfields and vineyards are sketched in all around the city and right up to its walls. Even the hunting of hares with packs of hounds is depicted in one corner of the map.[96] The vineyards and a dovecote are also mentioned in the official descriptions of La Gela,[97] vineyards from which Pierre willed Antoinette an annual supply of wine.[98] It also happens that an authentic view of Lyons in 1552 still exists, taken from a position about 200 yards behind La Gela, so that one may see even now the panorama which lay before the place of Louise's birth as described by the anonymous poet.[99]

[90] *v.* plate 2.
[91] "Dans les jardins si vantés de la rue Notre Dame de Confort, nous aurions pu voir un jour Clémence de Bourges, cette jeune et sympathique amie de la Belle Cordière, lisant au milieu d'un cercle brillant de Lyonnais et de Lyonnaises les vers de Maurice Scève et d'Olivier de Magny. . . ." R. L. Hawkins, *Maistre Charles Fontaine, Parisien*, Cambridge, U.S.A., 1916, p. 62.
[92] Lines 154–9 of the poem described in note 87.
[93] *v.* plate 3.
[94] Lines 154–200 of the poem described in note 87.
[95] *v.* plate 2.
[96] *v.* lines 27–32 of quotation from the *Louenges* and plate 4.
[97] *v.* note 22.
[98] *v.* note 72.
[99] *v.* plate 5.

La Gela appears, however, not only to have been her birthplace and presumably the scene of her early childhood, but also perhaps a favourite haunt of hers in later life, possibly because her mother continued to live there after marrying Pierre. This would explain why Louise, as late as 1548—that is to say after her own marriage[100]—continued to visit and cultivate a garden there. It is fairly clear that she did this, for the same anonymous poet says that, at the entrance to her garden:

> . . . on voyoit d'herbes,
> Et de thin verflorrissant,
> Les lis, et croissans superbes
> De notre Prince puissant:
> Et tout autour de la plante
> De petits ramelets vers
> De marjoleine flairante
> Estoient plantez ses six vers:
> "Du très noble roy de France
> Le Croissant neuve acroissance
> De jour en jour reprendra,
> Jusques à tant que ses cornes
> Jointes sans aucunes bornes
> En un plein rond il rendra. . . ."[101]

—a design which was undoubtedly made in connection with Henri II's entry into Lyons in 1548, when other designs on the same theme were executed in the city as part of the celebrations.[102]

The period of Louise's childhood and youth is usually accounted for by a summary of the education she seems to have received. It is surely dangerous to assume that a woman known to be accomplished in many ways when nearly forty was in fact coached in all these ways in early life. A careful consideration of all the known facts about her various achievements and knowledge strongly suggests that her early years were spent in quite a different way from what has been commonly supposed. It has, for example, been argued that these years were spent in receiving an education after the manner advocated by then leading contemporary humanists in France and Italy.[103] This argument was to be expected, perhaps, in view of Louise's apparently detailed knowledge of classical and contemporary literature, her reputed linguistic ability, her horsemanship, her musical accomplishments and her skill with various weapons.

Information about her education can be acquired with some certainty only from her own works, and with less certainty from the statements of her contemporaries. Little trust can or should be placed in tales not told until after

[100] *v. infra* and note 132.
[101] *v.* lines 169–82 of the poem described in note 87.
[102] The crescent was Diane de Poiters' emblem. One of the triumphal arches erected for Henri II's entry into Lyons in 1548 bore Henri's emblem on one column and Diane's on the other. This arch is illustrated in J. Chartrou's *Les Entrées Solenelles et Triomphales à la Renaissance*, Paris, 1928.
[103] O'Connor, *op. cit.*, p. 53.

her death. At the very beginning of her works, in the prefatory letter, Louise reveals that she spent some considerable time in the study of music. She also gives some indication as to when she studied it, writing "(j'ai) passé partie de ma jeunesse à l'exercise de la Musique."[104] By "jeunesse" she does not necessarily mean that she received her first lessons in childhood. In fact, she shows that she understood "jeunesse" to mean a stage in life reached at the soonest in the late teens, for, in the same letter, she indicates that her poetry was also composed in her "jeunesse," while elsewhere she explains that she could not compose until after the time of her first love affair, which occurred about her sixteenth year.[105] In any case, if one reads on after her statement about studying music, it becomes evident that she refers to a time in her life when she was conscious of herself as a fully grown woman.[106] Statements by her contemporaries show that the musical instrument in which she specialised was the lute, and that she was also fond of singing.[107] Before her first love affair Louise claims only to have been accomplished in the art of embroidery, horse-riding and carrying a lance.[108] Again, her contemporaries provide confirmation of these accomplishments, and, indeed, amplification. They say that she could also manage the war-axe, pike, sword and dagger,[109] though there is reason to believe that her skill with these weapons was not fully acquired until 1542, when Louise would be about twenty-five.[110]

When it is recalled that Louise and her brothers were probably left very much on their own after their mother's death, and consequently probably banded together, sharing in each other's games and interests in their mutual loss of maternal care, there is nothing surprising nor unusual about these early accomplishments of Louise. Once a bond of comradeship was established with her brothers, it would probably endure, and because of it there can scarcely be any doubt that Louise became most interested in their games and skills, and clearly her brothers were very skilled in the handling of weapons and horse riding to an outstanding degree. Her knowledge of embroidery may well have been acquired at home, the only school known by the majority of girls in sixteenth-century Lyons. Even her illiterate step-mother could have taught her to embroider.[111]

One may reasonably guess that Louise was taught to read and write during her early years, and it is here that one first encounters something most unusual. Why or how did the daughter of an illiterate ropemaker learn to read and

[104] Aynard, *op. cit.*, p. 158.
[105] This she explains in the first eight lines of her first elegy (*ibid.*, p. 247) and in lines 73–4 of her third elegy (*ibid.*, p. 258).
[106] *v.* note 104.
[107] "Ton lut hersoir encor se retentoit/De ta main douce, et gozier gracieus". *v.* fourteenth poem in collection described in note 87.
[108] Aynard, *op. cit.*, p. 256.
[109] *v.* lines 71–154 of poem described in note 87.
[110] 1542 is presumably the year in which the author of the *Louenges* saw Louise demonstrating her military prowess, *v. infra.*
[111] For proof of Antoinette' illiteracy *v.* note 46.

write? It is true that there was a convent school in Lyons at the abbey called La Déserte where girls could be sent to receive religious instruction and would probably be taught to read and write a little,[112] but no proof exists that Louise was sent there. Of course, when his second wife died, Pierre was left with a family of five young children to look after, and he may have sent them to such schools as existed for an obvious practical reason. He was clearly a practical man. On the other hand, he may have found it more convenient to pay a tutor to come into his home to teach and supervise his children while he was busy at work. It is known that many lay humanists engaged in some private teaching and supervision of this kind.[113] Besides being practical, Pierre was also an affectionate man, and accordingly he probably wanted to give his children as good a start in life as he could possibly afford. He was denied children until he was more than forty, and this may have made him all the fonder of them. At that age he was quite wealthy considering his station in life, and he could perhaps afford to give his children a better education than most ropemakers could. Perhaps his relative success in life gave him a feeling of self-importance which urged him to have his children well educated, and awareness of his own illiteracy may have provided further impetus. There are, in short, several fairly ordinary reasons for his deciding to give his children, especially his sons, what would be an unusual education in the eyes of his fellow ropemakers. It is extremely likely that, if taught at home, Louise simply joined in the lessons which were really intended for her brothers, and once taught the rudiments of reading and writing it is probable that she began to acquire a knowledge of language and literature very much on her own initiative, for it is abundantly clear from the wording of her prefatory letter that she thoroughly enjoyed studying.[114] Thus, it could be that Louise learned to read and write rather by accident than design, and that she was very much her own teacher, at least, until she attracted the attention of some learned man or men who then coached her personally, for she does in fact seem to have attracted the attention of at least one scholar who can be named—Antoine Fumée.

In a sonnet which he composed in praise of her he wrote:

> . . . heureus me sens t'avoir non le premier aymée,
> Mais prisé ton savoir avant la renomée.[115]

From these two lines it may be supposed that he had known her for some considerable time before she published her works, and this supposition gains support through another poet's reference to Fumée as Louise's "bon Signeur."[116]

[112] Tricou, *op. cit.*, p. 78.
[113] As, for example, Eustorg de Beaulieu, who taught the daughter of Marie de Pierre-Vive at her home in Lyons—*v.* Harvitt, *Eustorg de Beaulieu*, Lancaster, U.S.A., 1918.
[114] Aynard, *op. cit.*, p. 159.
[115] From second poem of the collection described in note 87.
[116] Magny, *Ode à Sire Annemond* (*v.* note 80).

The fact that she printed a Latin poem most probably composed by Fumée[117] before all but one of those published in her praise and before contributions by such celebrities as Maurice Scève, Jean de Vauzelles, Pontus de Tyard and Jean-Antoine de Baïf tends to confirm the respect and affection she felt for him. The belief that he may have been her teacher, or one of them, rests on this knowledge of their mutual respect, his statement that it was for her "savoir" that he admired her, and the fact that he was described as "docte."[118] Since he was capable of writing a good Latin ode he may have been the one who introduced her to the Latin language and literature, and to the notice of other learned men. If she eventually came to know some Italian literature and mastered the Italian language sufficiently well to translate a sonnet by Sannazaro[119] and compose one herself in this language so stilted as to suggest that it was an exercise rather than an inspiration,[120] it was not necessarily the result of lessons received in childhood nor, for that matter, the result of any systematic study at all. She may have learned the rudiments of Italian from a chance acquaintance, for she was courted by at least one "bon Poet Rommain"[121] and several Italian admirers write poems in her praise.[122] There is no proof at all that she knew any Greek, Spanish or German, as tradition and a number of modern biographers maintain,[123] and it is quite probable that her knowledge of Latin and Italian was very limited, since most of her literary debts to Latin and Italian authors could have been, and in some cases definitely were, made through the agency of French translation.[124]

Thus, it seems that Louise's education was not very carefully planned, nor indeed confined to her early years. Chance, which deprived her of her mother whilst very young and later brought her into contact with a sympathetic and learned man, seems to have played as great a part in her education as her own initiative, so that the often reputed breadth and depth of her learning may be doubted.

Once more tradition, still implicitly accepted by some modern biographers, has made Louise the heroine of the French campaign against the Spanish at Perpignan in 1542.[125] This city was then occupied by Spanish troops and they successfully maintained their position, withstanding a siege laid by the French under the leadership of their Dauphin, the future Henri II. The origin of this

[117] This poem *De Aloysae Labae osculis* is not signed by Fumée. However, it is the only Latin poem published in praise of Louise, and it is known that Fumée composed such a poem for Magny, in his *Ode à Sire Annemond* refers to Fumée thus: "Je le voy ores devant moy / En un aussi plaisant emoy / Pour faire son Ode Latine."

[118] By Magny in his *Ode à Sire Annemond.*

[119] Aynard, *op. cit.*, p. 263. For proof that Louise translated this sonnet from Sannazaro, *v.* O'Connor, *op. cit.*, pp. 144–5.

[120] Aynard, *op. cit.*, p. 260.

[121] *v.* lines 501–2 of poem described in note 87.

[122] *v.* collection of poems described in note 87.

[123] For example, *v.* first paragraph of this article. Only F. Lobb credits her with German —*The Twenty-four Love Sonnets of Louise Labé*, New York, 1950, p. 7.

[124] *v.* note 9.

[125] E.g. P. Bellat, *Le Chevalier Loys*, Sidi-Bel-Abbès, 1950.

belief is a passage in one of the poems published in praise of Louise in 1555, where it is written that:

Louize . . . . . .
En laissant les habiz mols
Des femmes, et envieuse
De bruit, par les Espagnols
Souvent courut, en grand'noise
Et meint assaut leur donna,
Quand la jeunesse Françoise
Parpignan environna.[126]

The generally more reliable of Louise's biographers have rejected the seemingly indisputable facts of the case as presented in these lines.[127] The simplest explanation of the whole affair, and one that does not contradict history but fits in with the known facts, is that Louise rode out, perhaps in the company of her brothers François and Mathieu, to display her military prowess to the troops of the Dauphin's army at the time of its entry into Lyons, where it rested several days before continuing its march on Perpignan. The luxuriously equipped army of the Dauphin, as described by Monluc[128] and vouched for by many details recorded in the archives at Lyons,[129] would appeal very strongly to Louise's interest in warlike exercise and military paraphernalia. Furthermore, it would be in keeping with her proud and rather vain nature[130] to display her charm and skill when it was certain to be admired. It is surely most unlikely that she could have fought at Perpginan with such distinction that "chacun Prince la louoit"[131] without some chronicler of the action having remarked on her presence.

An act dated 2 April 1551 reveals that Louise was then already married to a ropemaker called Ennemond Perrin.[132] Very little has been discovered about him or his family. His father appears to have died soon after 1511, after which date, and until 1515, his heirs were taxed for a house and workshop in the rue Notre Dame de Confort.[133] In 1515 however, Ennemond was taxed personally, but only for the workshop.[134] Consequently it is assumed that he had then attained his majority (which would make him at least twenty-five years older than Louise) and that he was sharing the house with his father's other heirs. This house was a two-storied building according to all official

[126] *v.* lines 113–20 of poem described in note 87.
[127] Especially Boy, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 40–2; O'Connor, *op. cit.*, p. 70 and Tricou, *op. cit.*, p. 79.
[128] B. de Lasseran-Massencome, *Commentaire de Blaise de Monluc*, Paris, 1911–25.
[129] *v. Arch. Dép., Acte notaire Cussonel*, 27 July 1542, Rég. 3E, 3849.
[130] *v.* last paragraph of this article.
[131] Line 134 of poem described in note 87.
[132] *Archives*, DD 160, Vol. I, 2 April 1551, quoted by Boy, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 48.
[133] *Archives*, CC 252, Vol. I, 1512–3.
[134] *Archives*, CC 20, Vol. I, 1515.

records[135] except one, which describes it as a single-storied building,[136] and it was situated at the corner of the street later known as the rue Belle Cordière and the rue Notre Dame de Confort, on the side nearer the Rhône. It seems that Ennemond always lived there, and eventually became its sole occupant until his marriage to Louise, which it is assumed took place shortly before 1545. This assumption is made because in 1545 Ennemond's taxes were considerably higher than ever before, and the cause of his considerable increase in wealth may well have been the size of Louise's dowry[137]—which, if it was the same as her half-sister Jeanne's, was about 300 livres.[138] In any case it was then usual for a girl to marry by her twentieth year,[139] so if Louise followed the custom of her age she would have married by about 1543 at the latest. It is quite probable, too, that her ageing father arranged this marriage to a humble, middle-aged ropemaker, for it is improbable that Louise would have chosen so modest a husband for herself if she had not married until after her father's death or in the days when her fame had spread and attracted many relatively distinguished admirers—and we know that her father died soon after 1548 and that Louise was already very well known by 1547.[140] Thus it seems that Ennemond and Louise were married in the early or mid 1540's. Their marriage ended with Ennemond's death sometime after January 1555, when he was last mentioned on a tax return, and before September 1557, when Louise began a series of legal actions in her own name.[141]

Evidence of an unreliable nature suggests that Ennemond paid more attention to his ropemaker's business than his wife's honour.[142] This cannot be confirmed, and one cannot be sure whether he was just very dull or very considerate in allowing his beautiful and intelligent wife the considerable freedom she seems to have enjoyed. This freedom of hers is closely bound up with two other aspects of her life-story which have been treated in very different ways by previous biographers, namely, the tradition which, on the one hand, makes her the hostess of a literary salon "à la Rambouillet" and, on the other, simply a courtesan.

[135] *v.*, for example, document quoted by O'Connor, *op. cit.*, p. 61.

[136] "Ennemond Perrin tient une maison basse et un jardin derriere faisant le coign de la ruette tirant à Bellecour joignant la ruette d'un costé et la maison de Claude Lozzret troilleur. . . ." *Archives*, CC 39, Vol. I, 1528.

[137] In 1529 he was taxed two *livres*, three *sols* and four *deniers*. Pierre Charly paid 18 *livres* in the same year. Clearly Ennemond was a poor man at that time. The same ratio in taxes paid by these men was maintained till 1538 when Ennemond paid 3 l. 4 s. and Pierre 18 l. 10 s. In 1545 Ennemond paid 50 l. and Pierre 100. *v.* Tricou, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

[138] *v.* note 27.

[139] Maulde la Clavière, *Les Femmes de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1898, p. 40.

[140] Witness the evidence of Philibert de Vienne, *La Philosophe de Court*, Lyons, 1547, p. 76. Also *v.* note 143.

[141] Ennemond is last mentioned in *Archives*, CC 57, Vol. I (1555), and it is said, in *Arch. Dép., Minutes Delaforest*, 3[E], 4159 (6 June 1567) that some land was sold "à lad. feue (Louise) Charly suivant acte receu Farjon not. à Trevolx le 23 septembre 1557."

[142] Magny, *Ode à Sire Annemond*, *v.* note 80.

The first known reference to Louise as a courtesan is contained in a book entitled "Le Philosophe de Court" which was written by Philibert de Vienne who visited Lyons in 1547, the year his book was published. In it the author insists that the perfect courtesan should be free from avarice, and he illustrates his argument with a reference to Louise.[143] Then, in 1552, the register of the Church of Geneva's Consistory contains notes of several testimonies made against the wife of a certain Jean Yvard, named Antonia, who was accused of attemping to poison her husband and to have frequented the house of "sa coysine la Belle Cordière" which resulted in her becoming a prostitute.[144] On these grounds Jean Yvard sought a divorce. Next, François de Billon, after having visited Lyons, composed a work (published in 1555, though prefaced in 1550) in defence of women and in which he refers to Louise, saying that "s'il y a chose en sa vie qui puisse estre taxée, les hommes premierement en sont causes. . . ."[145] A more detailed account of her "moeurs" is contained in a song, first printed in 1557 but undoubtedly composed some considerable time earlier. This song persists in the suggestion that Louise was a courtesan and gives as the chief reason for her being one her love of money.[146] There are two more references to her, both made during her lifetime and both following the same pattern. One is by Jean Calvin who refers to her as a "plebeia meretrix"[147] and the other is by Olivier de Magny who accuses Ennemond of neglecting his wife for his business by allowing people to make love to her.[148] While all but the song are incidental references to Louise, there can be no doubt that they are all based on the common knowledge that men were received into her house. It cannot be said with certainty whether the purpose of their visit was literary or lascivious or both—whether Louise was in fact a "cortigiana onesta" or the hostess of a literary salon and the innocent victim of evil-minded gossip.

The one indisputable fact emerging from the evidence considered relating to this problem is that her house was a meeting place for men of quality, for in most of these references the status and profession of her visitors is noted even if they are not always named. The song, for example, indicates that Louise received an "avocat," a "procureur," a wealthy Florentine, but turned away a "cordonnier" and a "musnier." Calvin says she was familiar with a priest, whilst the poet Magny (who admits having been an intimate acquaintance) malevolently wishes that her husband will always find his house full of

[143] "La Laïs de Corinthe eut'elle bonne grace de demander tant d'escuz à Demosthène? Elle le desgoutte si bien qu'il n'en voulut plus ouyr parler, et ne se donna point l'occasion de se repentir. La Cordière de Lyon est trop plus honorable qui, quelque affection de gaigner qu'elle ayt, ne semble rien moins à ses serviteurs que avariceuse," *op. cit.*, p. 76.

[144] A. Cartier, *Le procès Yvard à Genève et le Philosophe de Court par Philbert de Vienne* in *Revue des Livres Anciens*, 1917, Vol II, pp. 321–33.

[145] Billon, *Le Fort inexpugnable de l'honneur du sexe feminin*, Paris, 1515, f. 15.

[146] *v.* note 8.

[147] Calvin, *Tractatus theologice omnes, in unum volumen certis classibus congesti* in *Bibliopolo Commeleano*, Geneva, 1562, p. 432.

[148] *v.* note 142.

"maint brave capitaine" attracted by his wife's beauty, as well as "maint homme de sçavoir": These are the kind of men—barristers, attorneys, wealthy Italians, priests, poets, captains and scholars—with whom a poetess interested in literature, learning and military exercise might be expected to associate, and what was more natural than that she should meet them in her own home where her ropemaker husband would continue his business at such a distance as his modest intelligence might think best? These are the kind of men one might expect to have gathered together for serious discussion and to have formed a simply literary salon.

The generally more reliable of Louise's biographers have commented with obvious uncertainty on the idea of her salon. Some imagine that there were highly organized meetings attended by the élite of Lyonese society,[149] and others doubt their existence altogether.[150] A reasonably satisfactory solution may be found to this particular problem if it is considered in the light of what is known about literary circles generally at the time, for a primitive form of literary salon did then exist in Lyons. In the beginning it was confined to men who were, in every sense of the word, humanists.

The most celebrated circles of learned friends was that in which Nicolas Bourbon, Gilbert Ducher and Jean Voulté played a prominent part. Their books of Latin verse reveal how closely they associated with each other and certain others in the common cause of humanism.[151] They would frequently meet at the house of Guillaume Scève, brother of the poet Maurice, and of Jean de Vauzelles, where they discussed literary and learned subjects over a meal.[152] There can be no doubt that they formed a distinct society—a Latin poem by one of its members calling the others to a meeting proves this.[153] They called themselves "sodales," and it is possible to perceive some of the objects they set themselves, such as the praising of any progress made in the cause of humanism, and to determine some of their activities, such as the holding of dinners and the loaning of books.[154] The central figure of this early society which thrived for several years after 1516 was undoubtedly Guillaume Scève. This is indicated by the many poems addressed to him and referring to him in connexion with the other "sodales" in the works of Bourbon, Ducher and Voulté. With the eclipse of this society others took its place, and another central figure appeared on the scene in the person of Maurice Scève.

Allowing for the exaggeration in which all versifiers then indulged when praising patrons or fellow poets, there can be no doubt that Maurice Scève

[149] *v.* note 91. Also Boy, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 55–57.

[150] O'Connor, *op. cit.*, p. 84.

[151] (*a*) Nicolai Borboni, *Nugarum libri octo*, Lyons, 1538. (*b*) Ducher, *Epigrammatum libri duo*, Lyons, 1538. (*c*) Voulté, *Epigrammatum libri tres*, Lyons, 1537.

[152] *v.* Voulté, *op. cit.*, p. 44; and Bourbon, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

[153] J. Visagier, *Ad sodalitium amicorum lugdunensium*, in *Epigrammatum libri IV*, *eiusdem Xenia*, Lyons, 1537, p. 260.

[154] V. L. Saulnier, *Maurice Scève*, Lyons, 1948, Vol. I, p. 112.

was, between Marot and Ronsard, the most famous poet in all France. When the anonymous poet tells Louise that he is not the only one to praise her, he says:

> . . . meints nobles Poëtes,
> Pleins de celestes esprits,
> Diront tes graces parfaites
> En leurs tresdoctes escriz:
> Marot, Moulin, la Fonteine,
> Avec la Muse hauteine
> De ce Sceve audacieus,
> Dont la tonnante parole,
> Qui dens les Astres carole,
> Semble un contrefoudre es Cieus.[155]

That, however, is only the incidental testimony of an anonymous poet. In 1548 the Elders of the city of Lyons entrusted Scève, together with Anneau and Du Choûl, with the organization of the celebrations to mark Henri II's entry into the city, and afterwards they honoured him by requesting him to write up the official record of these events.[156] Then, in 1549, Scève was sufficiently respected by the great Ronsard to be specifically excluded by him from a general condemnation of all previous and contemporary French poets.[157] It is clear that in Lyons, Scève—poet, priest and humanist—was regarded as a veritable oracle. His company was much sought and his opinion highly valued, especially after he published his "Délie" in 1544. His ideas on love were particularly prized, as is proved by an anonymous work in Italian called "Aretefilia" composed about 1556.[158] In this book the discussion is reported of three Italians who lived in Lyons. The subject of their discussion is love, and it is recorded that they very much regret Scève's absence in such a way as to suggest that he was normally present at their meetings and was considered quite an expert on this topic. Their manner is exceedingly precious and looks forward to that of the literary salons in the seventeenth century.[159]

Scève is known to have taken part in similar discussions held by better-known people than these three Italians. At the beginning of a 1557 publication Peletier du Mans addresses a letter to Scève in which he reveals that in Lyons, about 1555, there existed another distinct group of lettered men who met

[155] Lines 547–57 of poem described in note 87.

[156] *La Magnificence de la Superbe et Triumphante Entrée de la Noble et Antique Cité de Lyon, faicte au Treschrestien Roy de France, Henry dueziesme de ce Nom,* published by J. de Tournes, Lyons, 1549.

[157] Ronsard, *Odes,* ed. by Vaganay, Garnier, Paris, 1944, Vol. III of complete works, p. 367.

[158] In full: *Aretefilia, dialogo nel quale da una parte sono quelle ragioni allegate, lequali affermano le amore di caporal bellezza potere ancora per la via dell'udire pervenire al quore: e dell'altra, quelle che vogliono lui havere per gl'occhi l'entrata sua: colla sentenza sopra cotal cuistione,* published by G. Roville, Lyons, 1562.

[159] Witness the title of their discussion, note 158.

frequently to discuss any topic which might interest them.[160] In this letter Peletier du Mans finds it necessary to excuse his prolonged absence and he hints that, although he valued discussion, he could not always afford the time which he could more usefully employ working by himself. Pontus de Tyard, whose "Erreurs Amoureuses" were clearly inspired by Scève's "Délie," is known to have been visited by Scève in his chateau, where other guests were commonly received and where they would hold serious discussion in the beautiful garden.[161] Tyard's "Discours Philosophiques," which were originally published separately, the first in 1552, seem to be echoes of these meetings. In 1550 Antoine du Moulin, a learned editor and translator, translated a book called "Physionomie Naturelle . . ." which contains a letter addressed to Scève. This is dated 1549 and it offers more information on Scève's activities in lettered circles. It recalls that he, Du Moulin, had met Scève several years previously in the company of a number of learned men whose chief interest was in Classical Antiquity and that they had had a long and interesting discussion on the design of some Roman medals.[162] Finally, Scève is known to have been friendly with another Lyonese poetess—Pernette du Guillet, whose salon he almost certainly attended. The relationship between Scève and Du Guillet has been established by a detailed study of their ideas and imagery.[163] The most important evidence of all, which shows where and how they probably met and discussed their ideas on love—evidence which proves that a kind of literary salon did exist in Lyons about the time of Louise Labé is supposed to have been the hostess of one—is contained in Du Moulin's preface to Du Guillet's works, which were published in 1545. In this preface he says that he and Du Guillet's husband found the manuscripts of her compositions in considerable disorder after her death, but nevertheless they had arranged them and published them "pour satisfaire à ceulx à qui privément en maintes bonnes compagnies elle les recitoit à propos comme la plus part faictz à leur occasion. . . ."[164] There could hardly be any clearer reference to a literary gathering, a kind of salon. This survey of some of the lettered circles in which Scève moved shows that the earlier meetings he attended resembled those which his brother Guillaume and the "sodales" held, but that in the space of ten years these meetings developed into literary discussions with a tendency towards preciosity. No doubt there were other lettered circles apart from Scève's, but his have been reviewed because there are reasons to believe that he was friendly with Louise Labé, and that her home and the garden at La Gela

[160] I. Peletarii, *Cenomani in Euclidis Elementa Geometrica Demonstrationum libri sex*, Lyons, 1557, ff. 3–4.

[161] A. Lefranc, *La vie quotidienne au temps de la Renaissance*, Paris, 1938, p. 73.

[162] *Physionomie Naturelle, extraite de plusieurs Philosophes anciens, et mise en françois par Antoine du Moulin, Masconnois*, Lyons, 1550, pp. 3–12.

[163] Saulnier, *op. cit.*, pp. 144–193 and *Etude sur Pernette du Guillet*, in *Bib. d'H. et R.*, Vol. IV, Paris, 1944, pp. 7–119.

[164] *Rymes de gentille et vertueuse dame D. Pernette du Guillet, Lyonnoise*, Lyons, 1856, p. 14.

could have been other meeting places for him and their mutual friends for similar literary discussions.

In her own prefatory letter, Louise reveals that she also entertained men who read her poetry and whose advice on literary matters she valued, for it was at their suggestion that she published her works.[165] She does not say who they were, nor hint at their professions. It is interesting to note however that the only two poets who wrote poems in Pernette du Guillet's praise in an appendix to her works were Scève and Vauzelles—and that Scève is the first and Vauzelles the third poet to contribute in French to a similar appendix to Louise Labé's works. Between Scève's and Vauzelle's contributions is one by Tyard, and preceding them all are one in Greek by Peletier du Mans and another in Latin by Du Moulin.[166] It is striking that those people were all known to be long-established friends of Scève's, all known to have partaken in learned and literary discussions with him, and some of them to have been associated with Pernette du Guillet and her "maintes bonnes compagnies." It is also noticeable that the language and subject of their contribution to Louise's praise is very precious, and suggestive of what is known to have been in later times typical salon conversation. Scève's sonnet, for example, poses two questions and expresses an opinion on the nature of love, whilst Vauzelles writes three sonnets around Louise Labé's anagram, "à soy belle." In short, it seems highly probable that these people were personally acquainted with Louise as their hostess at literary gatherings.

Scève seems to have been the link between Louise and most of the other contributors, including, in addition to those already named, Magny, Fontaine and perhaps even Clément Marot, all of whom contributed to her praises and are known to have been acquainted with Scève or other members of his family.[166] However, there is no proof of a personal relationship between Scève and Louise. He alone of all those who sang her praises was a native and permanent resident of Lyons, and it is possible that he would associate more closely with her after Pernette du Guillet's death in 1545, since Louise's reputation began to grow soon after this date.[167] There is the suggestion of some association in the fact that the design which Louise arranged in her garden, presumably in the summer of 1548,[168] was also one arranged by Scève and his collaborators elsewhere in the city at that moment in honour of Henri II and his mistress Diane de Poiters.[169] On that occasion, too, Louise's brother François was chosen by an official in charge of the organizing of the celebrations to play a prominent part in them, and it is possible that Scève was that official. Finally, of course, there is Scève's own poem in praise of Louise: and this is couched in

[165] Aynard, *op. cit.*, p. 160.

[166] For the evidence of the authorship of these poems and the identity of the different contributors, *v.* Cartier, *Les Poètes de Louise Labé*, in *R. d'H. L. F.*, Paris, 1894.

[167] *v.* note 140.

[168] *v. supra*, and note 102.

[169] *v.* note 102.

terms which suggest that he was acquainted with the poetess's ideas before they were made public.[170] Scève thus appears to have been the central figure of a group of poets who knew and praised Louise, and it is possible that this group came together at salon-like meetings over which she may have presided in so far as they were probably occasionally held in her home. This possibility gains support from the fact that one of the group—Peletier du Mans—composed a poem which seems to recall such a meeting. He writes:

> "La beauté est le moins qui soit an ele:
> Car le savoer qu'ele a,
> E le parler qui soevement distile,
> Si vivement anime d'un dous stile,
> Sont trop plus que cela."[171]

It is evident that he not only met Louise, but spoke with her and came away much impressed by her ability to converse, an ability about which she boasts when, in a poem, she tells her imaginary lover that he should pay court to her alone because any other woman

> A peine aura le renom d'estre telle,
> Soit en beauté, vertu, grace et *faconde*,
> Comme plusieurs gens savans par le monde
> M'ont fait à tort, ce croy je, estre estimée.[172]

In the light of all this, it seems almost certain that she took part in learned and literary discussions with knowledgeable men, and though these discussions may not have been those of an organized salon "à la Rambouillet," and though they may have been attended only very occasionally by really outstanding men, and rarely by more than one or two people at a time, their effect would have been much the same as those of a well organized salon. They would bring the participants abreast of the latest developments and ideas in the literary world.

Two years after the publication of her works Louise either left the city of Lyons or planned to do so because, on 14 and 23 September 1557 she bought a country house, a meadow, two vineyards and several strips of land at Massieux, a village close to Parcieux where she possessed a "grange" and more land.[173] In 1560 she bought yet more ground at Parcieux,[174] and in 1562 still another vineyard there.[175] It has been suggested that she left Lyons because of the religious troubles which began there between 1550 and 1560,

[170] This contribution is entitled *En grace du Dialogue de Folie et d'Amour, evvre de D. Louize Labé Lionnoize*, and it was published in the 1555 edition of her works.

[171] *L'Art poétique de Jacques Peletier du Mans*, ed. by A. Boulanger, Paris, 1930, pp. 108–9.

[172] Aynard, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

[173] *v. Arch. Dép., Acte Delaforest*, 3E, 4159, 6 June 1567.

[174] *v. Arch. Dép., Acte Delaforest*, 3E, 4159, 31 July 1566.

[175] *v.* note 173.

and eventually led to strife and the seizure of the city by Protestant forces in 1562.[176] It is true that she was absent from Lyons in precisely that year. There is no proof, however, that she left the city for any considerable length of time. Whenever she bought land, she did so in August or September, the hottest months of the year in that region when even today the Lyonese traditionally leave their city for the cooler neighbouring countryside and hills. It is probable therefore that Louise did the same and made these purchases while there on holiday. In any event she was still taxed for her property in the rue Notre Dame de Confort in 1563,[177] and in 1565 she was ill in bed at the home of an Italian who lived in Lyons, a certain Thomas Fortini. There, on 28 April 1565, she dictated her will and one of the chief benefactors was Thomas Fortini, whom she also nominated as her executor.[178]

This Florentine banker is known to have been in Lyons since as early as 1549,[179] and it is possible that he associated with Louise soon after that date. He may have been the wealthy Florentine whose frequent visits to her are referred to in the song published in 1557.[180] It seems that his friendship with the poetess must have been of long standing and held very dear by her or he would hardly have been trusted as much as he was or made to benefit as much as he did. Even so, it appears that Fortini was unworthy of the confidence she placed in him, for it is obvious from several complaints made by the authorities of the Aumône Générale, to whom the property at Parcieux really belonged, that this estate fell into a ruinous condition after only a few years under Fortini's supervision.[181]

At the time Louise dictated her will she was presumably very ill, and had been for at least several weeks, as her debt of eight livres to a chemist for medicine suggests.[182] She was to remain ill for nearly another year, it seems, because after her death Fortini paid another chemist 36 livres for medicine supplied to her.[183] The instructions in her will regarding her burial not only prove how seriously ill she was in April 1565, but suggest that she was accustomed to similar attacks of illness.[184] She died at Parcieux, and was buried in the cemetery there. This is proved by a document relating to the sculpture of her tombstone,[185] and the fact that Fortini claimed an official copy of his bequests at some time between 4 and 18 February 1566, a procedure which

[176] Boy, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 70.
[177] *v. Archives*, CC 110, Vol. I, 1563.
[178] *v.* note 79.
[179] Tricou, *op. cit.*, p. 95, footnote 3.
[180] *v.* note 8.
[181] *v. Archives de l'Aumône Générale de Lyon*, E 12, Vol. I (1572), and Tricou, *op. cit.*, p. 96.
[182] This debt is mentioned in her will; *v.* O'Connor, *op. cit.*, pp. 183–4.
[183] *Arch Dép., Minutes Delaforest*, 3E, 4169, 26 June 1567.
[184] O'Connor, *op. cit.*, p. 180.
[185] *Ibid.*, p. 91.

indicated that she died within a few days of the first of these two dates at the earliest and was certainly dead by the second.[186]

Thus, Louise Labé gradually acquired recognition and wealth like her father, but on a much greater scale. From him she probably inherited her initiative, but with her it was much more marked, and perhaps spurred on by the vanity which eventually led her to assume a coat of arms. Certainly modesty does not appear to have been one of her virtues, but in this she shared a common fault of her age. Popular opinion accused her of avarice. Bearing in mind that her brother François seems to have been similarly inclined, popular opinion was probably right on this score. To her credit, she was an uncommonly practical person, to judge by the manner in which she conducted her affairs as a widow. In this she also took after her father rather than François. Her will proves that she was a realist, and at the same time affectionate and grateful for services rendered. Her outstanding qualities were her imagination and drive. Because of these, despite her limitations and her environment, she eventually achieved a fame which has now lived through four centuries, and she can still be described as France's greatest lyric poetess.

KENNETH VARTY

[186] "Comme ainsi soit que dame Loyse Charlin dit Labé, Veuve d'Ennemond Perrin . . . ait faict son testament devant le notaire soussigné le 28 avril 1565, par lequel testament elle a faict plusieurs legatz, donations, entr'aultres un legs d'usufruict à Thomas Fortin marchand Florentin demeurant à Lyon . . . et parce que les legatz se peuvent extraire des testaments, led. notaire royal soussigné auroit esté requis par led. Fortin extraire dud. testament ce qui luy a esté offert. . . ." *Arch. Dép., Minutes Delforest*, 3E, 4161, 4–15, February 1566.